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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

EXTRACT FROM THE MESSAGE OF GOV. MARVIN OF FLORIDA TO THE STATE CONVENTION.

[On the 25th of last month a State Convention assembled at Tallahasse to arrange for the return of Florida to the Union. Gov. Marvin is said to be a native and former resident of Western New York, and great hopes were cherished when he was made Provisional Governor of Florida, that truer ideas would be at once planted and protected, than had ever existed there before. But the extracts below reveal how far those hopes are to be realized. A country friend writes us: "Gen. Taylor was a Southern, Millard Fillmore a Northern man. Reagan, of Texas, is a Southern, and John Van Buren a Northern man. Andrew Johnson was made President, not by Southern but by Northern votes." And he might have added, Gov. Marvin is a Northern man, and declares that "*if negroes have the same protection for their rights that the white man has, they will have no ground to complain;*" while as to the number and quality of those rights, outside of naked chattelism itself, they are to be really as much slaves as ever solely on the ground of their color. But to the extracts:]

THE emancipation of the negro makes it necessary, in my judgment, to define, in the Constitution, with as much accuracy as possible, what his civil rights and political privileges shall be. It is not to be expected that two races, nearly equal in numbers, and so unlike as the colored and white races of this country are, can live in peace and harmony together, unless the rights of each are well defined by law, and each be made to respect the rights of the other. The governing power is in the hands of the white race; but the colored race is to be free, and the Government is to be administered in such a manner as not to infringe upon its freedom.

It may be difficult to define, with any degree of accuracy, wherein freedom in society and under an organized government consists. But I think it may be said, in general terms, to consist chiefly in the right to be protected, by constitutional law, in the enjoyment of life, in the acquisition by honest industry of property, in its possession and transmission to heirs, in a right to personal security and locomotion, and generally in a right to improve one's intellectual, moral, and religious condition, and to pursue happiness according to one's own idea of happiness, not interfering with the exercise of the same right on the part of others. But freedom does not necessarily include the idea of a participation in the affairs of government.

The privilege of voting at elections, the capacity to hold office, or to sit on juries, are not essential rights of freedom. They are privileges conferred or duties enjoined upon certain persons or classes of persons by the supreme power of the State, for and on account of the public good; and the persons or classes of persons upon whom these privileges are conferred or these duties enjoined, may be increased or diminished, within reasonable limits, without impairing rights of freedom, according as that power may determine. Persons may be free without the capacity to hold office, to sit on a jury, or to vote at elections. The English people are free, and yet not one-tenth of the adult male population are entitled by law to vote at elections or to sit on juries. In our own State foreigners are not entitled to vote or to sit on juries until they have been naturalized, yet they are free; women and children are not entitled to vote, or hold office, or sit on a jury, yet they are free.

The subject of the elective franchise will necessarily come before you for consideration and review. The present constitution confers this privilege upon all male white persons of the age of 21 years and upward, who are citizens of the United States, and who have resided in the State one year and in the county six months, and on no others. Colored persons are excluded from voting. Whether you will add to or diminish the number of voters by changing the qualifications is a question for you to consider and decide. In that decision the people of this State are mainly interested, but not solely; for persons qualified to vote for members of the General Assembly of the State will also be qualified, under the Constitution of the United States, to vote for Presidential Electors and members of the House of Representatives. People of other States are, therefore, interested, though in a much less degree, in the decision you make.

Shall the elective franchise be conferred upon the colored race; and if so, upon what terms and qualifications? I am not advised that the President has expressed his views or wishes on this subject, and I know no more of the views or wishes of the members of Congress than is generally known. I cannot think, however, that if the Convention shall abolish slavery and provide proper guarantees for the protection and security of the persons and property of the freedmen, the Congress will refuse to admit our Senators and Representatives to their seats because the freedmen are not allowed to vote at the State and other elections. When the question of their admission shall arise, I think the main inquiry will be, not are the freedmen allowed to vote, but are they guaranteed in the Constitution protection and security for their persons and property? It does not appear to me that the public good of this State or of the Nation at large would be promoted by conferring at the present time upon the freedmen the elective franchise.

Neither the white people nor the colored people are prepared for so radical a change in their social relations. Nor have I any reason to believe that any considerable number of freedmen desire to possess this privilege. What they desire, and what they have a right, in my judgment, to require, is that they shall be guaranteed protection in the enjoyment of all the rights which properly belong to their condition as freedmen, and that this protection, and not political privileges, that they need and desire; and the problem to be solved is, how to secure them that protection without their participation in the business of the Government. If they have the same protection for their rights that the white man has they will have no ground to complain.

FREE NIGGERDOM.

From the Harrisonburg (Va.) Commonwealth.

THE Government is a fixed fact. Now for our social status. There is a dark spot on the surface, we confess, just here—a blot on the body politic—a festering sore, we should have said, which, unless cauterization of the most potent character is applied, will eat out the very core, the heart of society itself—we mean free *niggerdom*. We have not sufficiently examined this subject, either by the lights of *empiricism* or reason, to determine what is our duty or our policy on the question. We are inclined occasionally to adopt at once the colonization idea, but refrain lest some circumstances in regard to means of transportation in the way of pecuniary ability will exist debarring us from this means of securing our deliverance.

We being a sovereign State, however, with amicable relations, and entitled to the assistance from the Federal Government in the achievement of our destiny, have the right to believe that we can, either by cauterization or the knife, burn off, or chop off this cancer on the social condition of our country.

It may be that some mild scheme of apprenticeship will be adopted. It may be that some vigorous scheme of banishment will be put into effect. It may be that the public indignation, long burthened with the weight of noxious African inertia, may overleap the bounds of law and drive these Ethiopian citizens from the borders of Virginia. This last, however, is a means of deliverance which we deprecate in advance.

One of two means will have eventually to be adopted in regard to these negroes—of this we are certain. One is by law, rigid exacting law, to make these negroes, naturally non-producing consumers, artificially consuming producers; or by law to send every mother's son of them to some other State, Territory or Island, where they can either exist by public contribution, their own activity, or go down to their grave under the weight of their own laziness and debasement.

Selections.

FREEDMEN IN LOUISIANA.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

WE are not aware of having heard before of "J. S. Fullerton, Brevet Brigadier-General and Assistant-Commissioner, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, State of Louisiana." We suppose that we shall never have the chance of pleading similar ignorance, for our "Brevet Brigadier-General and Assistant-Commissioner," has found himself in a position where he can command as much attention as he pleases. The reader may as well know that Fullerton was placed in his present position because his predecessor did not please that class of pardoned rebels and unrepentant Democrats in Louisiana who are now endeavoring to bring back from Mexico a runaway rebel General named Allen, and who find no titles to distinction more proper than those earned by treason against the United States. Mr. Conway, the former Commissioner, had an idea that the negroes, although merely freedmen, and not exactly citizens, had rights of person and property which the military power should protect. The Louisiana people could not think so. The divine right of nigger-selling had been abolished by Mr. Lincoln's edict, but not the right equally divine of nigger-walloping. Here came a clashing. Mr. Conway was the friend of the negro—and he could not be the friend of the rebels. They began to howl, and their howl has been answered by the appointment of an officer named Fullerton.

Fullerton distinguishes his advent by an address. We presume he consulted his friends about it—the friends who howled over Conway and had now a man after their heart. We can imagine him reading his address to a knot of unreconstructed Southerners fresh from the rebel army, who swore appropriate oaths and dispersed the essence of Virginia plug tobacco over the carpets of the St. Charles Hotel as he read his magnificent sentences. Let our readers hearken and hear how pro-slavery Fullerton is. "Slavery," he says to the negroes, "has passed away, and you are now placed on trial." This probably means that if trial should fail, the negro must go back to slavery. He goes on to say that if the negro cannot in time live without Government aid, he does not "deserve to be free." For—and here we have a touch of the old pro-slavery spirit that must have made the rebels scream with delight—"you must remember that you have no masters now to take care of you in sickness and in old age." Is this not a most deplorable calamity? No masters to soothe and caress the poor negro; to give him hog and hominy; to provide him tenderly with one pair of untanned shoes every year; to put him in the calaboose if he dares to read; to make his marriage relations like those of swine and sheep, mere breeding of valuable property; to brutalize him for his own good; to degrade him in the interest of civilization; to wallop him in the spirit of Christian kindness. When we pause a moment and dwell upon the past, upon all the merits and beauties of slavery, and see that everything is gone, and that where the lordly master once cracked his whip the negro now walks free and unconstrained, we feel like mingling our tears with those of the disconsolate Fullerton.

Well, as slavery is really abolished, and there is no way by which Fullerton can possibly restore to the masters the care of the negroes in "sickness and in old age," he proceeds to lecture the freedmen. As the masters cannot take care of the negroes, the negroes must take care of the masters. His first instruction is "that freedom does not mean liberty to be idle." "This is a mistaken notion," says Fullerton; "idlers and vagrants will not be tolerated." From this remark one would suppose that the industrial interests of Louisiana were to be assumed by Fullerton, and that all idleness and vagrancy would be stopped by this Dogberry in epaulettes. This is a mistake. Our Dogberry does not find warrant to "comprehend" white vagabonds—but only those who are black. The white vagrants—men who, according to Harry T. Hays, now member of the Democratic Committee of Louisiana, formerly a general under Lee—are left by the war "as charges upon the charity of the country;" are to be given employment in a National Express Company. Fullerton's authority does not permit him to send from his bureau the begging whites, refugees and unreconstructed rebels who live on Government rations; but the negro only. If the white man wants work, he either hunts it or starves. If the negro cannot get work in the city, he must return to the "old plantations." In other words, Fullerton, speaking to the negro in the name of the great United States, wearing the nation's uniform and carrying its sword, draws that sword and says to the negroes of Louisiana: "Although you have been made free—and with freedom you accept its duties and responsibilities—I command you to abandon your freedom; to go back to your old plantations, to the men who have grown rich upon your labor, and who would grow rich again; back to your negro quarters—your whip and pillory—to your overseer, his hounds and his lash. Your freedom means freedom to do as he commands. If he treats you badly and breaks contracts, go to the courts and get as much justice as a slaveholding jury and a slaveholding judge can be induced to give to a freed slave. If you do not do as he commands, lo! here I stand with this sharp-pointed sword; for, as I said, having no master to take care of you in sickness, and make you work, I make this sword your master, and you must obey." The President of the United States once said to the negro race he would be its Moses. What would Moses have done if one of his satraps had undertaken to order the people of Israel back to Egypt.

Having found a man like Fullerton, the rebels coddle him. A Mobile newspaper finds that he is a gentleman, and unlike that "vile Yankee" Conway. Another newspaper, edited, we are told, by a rebel general, says that "we learned on Friday with great pleasure that preparations for a public dinner to Gen. Fullerton are now making by a number of our prominent citizens. By his *judicious* and *conciliatory* course the general has won *golden opinions* among our people, and is highly deserving of the proposed compliment." As if to pander to this feeling, Fullerton writes a letter declining to attend a meeting of compliment to Mr. Conway. He will not go. He is an officer, and must obey "orders and instructions." He will dine with the rebels, and "wallop their niggers" for them, and see that the freedmen stay on the old plantations, but he cannot go to "a grand mass meeting of the colored population." No such association for this military popinjay, if you please. He is in good rebel company—and the editor who is pleased to dine him is likewise pleased to sing this song in his next column:

> Furl it! for the hands that grasped it,
> And the hands that fondly clasped it,
> Cold and dead are lying low;
> And that banner, it is trailing,
> *While around it sounds the wailing*
> *Of its people in their woe,*
> *For, though conquered, they adore it.*
> Low the cold, dead hands that bore it,
> Weep for those who fell before it;
> Pardon those who trailed and tore it,
> *And, oh! wildly they deplore it,*
> *Now to furl and fold it so.*

PROPOSED VAGRANT LAWS.

From the N. Y. Evening Post.

A CORRESPONDENT in Louisiana, writing on the 21st ult., sends us the following:

"The planters of Louisiana generally express the hope and belief that the next legislature will pass vagrant laws which will bind the freedmen to their plantations, so that they will be so restricted in their liberty that they will be compelled to render about the same service as formerly. In talking with Northern men on the subject of the freedmen and the Freedmen's Bureau, expressions similar to this are always used: 'Wait till election, we will show you how free the niggers will be—we will then elect men who will so legislate that we can bind the negro to our places, and after all, can make them work as hard as formerly.'

"On the Jackson railroad, not far from New Orleans, a justice of the peace recently tried a freedman and sentenced him to 'flogging on his naked back, forty lashes,' the punishment to be inflicted, in the language of the justice, 'by the nearest United States military officer in command of troops!'

THE APPRENTICESHIP ORDER.

"An order has been issued by Gen. Fullerton directing that the orphans of freedmen and deceased colored soldiers, who were in the two asylums in this city—the one in charge of the National Freedmen's Relief Association, the other in charge of Madam Louise de Mortie—should be bound out to respectable citizens under the apprenticeship laws of the State. This order applied to any other children who might be in charge of the bureau anywhere in the State.

"The rebels welcomed the order. The very day of its issue 'respectable citizens' went to the asylums asking in some cases for 'nice little niggers capable of doing the little dirty work around the house,' others for 'little niggers able to black boots,' etc., etc. Their applications were denied, on the ground that the children were not in charge of the Freedmen's Bureau, but under the exclusive control of the benevolent societies which were conducting them. The applicants became defiant, and in some instances swore they would have as many of the 'little niggers' as they wanted, and threatened to go to Gen. Fullerton with a complaint that these matrons disregarded his orders.

"The colored people of the city are becoming intensely incensed and discouraged. They say, 'Are we to establish charitable societies to help to save the helpless and distressed, and then see them broken up and their beneficiaries turned back into slavery under the pretence of having them apprenticed?'

"The matter was laid before Gen. Canby, who gave an order which put things right again, and now no orphans are to be 'apprenticed' without the concurrent approval of the agents of the societies, Gen. Fullerton, and himself.

"Every one here knows that, though the appearance is to apprentice these children, they could not possibly be anything else than slaves, as formerly. While the intention of the law might be one of mercy and benevolence as applied to white children, when applied to blacks the intention would have been forgotten, and the last state of the children would have been worse than the first.

"On the day following the issue of Gen. Fullerton s order of apprenticeship, one half the orphans ran away from the asylums in a state of terrored fright.

THE OPERATIONS OF THE VAGRANT ORDER.

"About two years ago an order was enforced in New Orleans with the view of forcing negro vagrants from the city to the plantations. The police being charged with its execution, great misery and persecution were experienced by the colored population. The Rev. Mr. Conway, then the Superintendent of Freedmen, seeing the trouble, had the matter taken out of the hands of the police. He organized a commission, made up in part of respectable colored men and some loyal whites, to whom was committed the work of inspecting the whole city and ascertaining the number of negroes who were living without proper employment. For six weeks this commission worked faithfully, each member making a daily report. The conclusion showed a colored population of nearly forty thousand, with three hundred unemployed and vagrant persons. These were taken to the country and corrected by forcing them to work. The trouble experienced at that time was thus ended in a practical way.

"Gen. Fullerton recently directed the police to arrest 'all unemployed freedmen.' The day the order was issued there were more freedmen arrested as vagrants than during the three preceding months. White men stood upon the street corners and chuckled over the arrest of groups of poor freedmen, who were being borne through the streets at all hours. Men just back from the rebel armies, who never do a stroke of work, and who have no visible means of living, were rejoiced at the arrest of poor black men, whose fault was, not that they had no employment, but because they were not toiling at the moment the police cast their eyes upon them. White vagrants with gray coats stand on every corner, but are not arrested or disturbed.

"Members of the Seventy-third United States colored infantry, who but the day previously were mustered out of the United States army, were arrested as vagrants. Others, determined that they would not be borne away and incarcerated as vagrants—criminals—except by due process of law, and accordingly, when the police attempted to arrest them, the arrest was resisted, and some of the policemen soundly beaten.

"If this sort of thing is pushed upon them, the blacks are resolved that it is better to perish in resistance of it than to live suffering under it. Where the blacks number at least a third more than the whites at this time, it is but madness to allow persecution to go on till they are forced to resistance. No people are more peaceably inclined, and none more ready to obey every just or even a bad law that could be endured for a season by any class.

"Laborers working for the Government have been arrested as vagrants while on their way to their homes to get their daily food. Levee hands who had worked all day long in the burning sun, loading and unloading ships, have been seized and borne away to the calabooses. Gen. Canby had to issue a military order that all negroes arrested as vagrants by the police should be brought to the Freedmen's Bureau and not to the State or city officials.

BISHOP SIMPSON ON THE FREEDMEN.

[Bishop Simpson of the M. E. Church, and President of the American Freedmen's Aid Commission, was expected to address a recent meeting of the Baltimore Society for the Improvement of the Colored Race. Failing to attend, he sent the following letter. Were *Charity* all the colored race need, or could claim at the hands of the nation whose wealth they have so largely earned, and whose existence they have saved, this stately letter would not be altogether an insult. But since, as Frederic Douglass so well said, "it is *justice* the colored people at the South need, and not old clothes," such a missive, from any source, becomes insufferable. Readers should observe that all the Bishop urges as reason for aiding this still oppressed race is that it "*may be useful to society*" and that "*we may have purity and prosperity among us!*" But were they mules or dogs, their rights *as human beings* could scarcely be more utterly ignored.]

PHILADELPHIA, Oct. 24, 1865.

Judge BOND, *Honorable and Dear Sir:*

I AM sorry to inform you that I cannot be present at your meeting on Wednesday evening. I especially regret this, as I know that evening was selected to suit my convenience. But ecclesiastical duties of which I was not aware summon me in another direction. Will you have the kindness to inform your friends, and, if necessary, the audience also, that I deeply regret my inability to meet them? The cause is one in which I feel an abiding interest. In the Providence of God, by the removal of slavery from our land, nearly four millions have been added to our free population. These are necessarily uneducated, and many of them depraved. The Christian and the philanthropist alike inquire what can be done to improve their condition, and is seems to me that, however men may differ in other matters, nearly all will agree that we should aid them in procuring homes for their families, appropriate spheres for labor and such education, both in arts and letters, as will prepare them to be useful to society. Duty to ourselves, as well as duty to them, imperatively requires this, if we would have purity and prosperity among us. And I rejoice that in many parts of the South Christian men and women are already at work in this cause. In Maryland you have taken the lead, and, so far as I know, Baltimore has done more for colored people in this way than any other city in which slavery recently existed.

You have a great field before you. Many will misunderstand you—some will misrepresent your purposes—but I trust that the society will move steadily forward, until all shall see that your labor tends to universal peace and good order. The accounts which I received at the recent Conference in Washington of the Schools established in your city, and the influence which they exert even in distant neighborhoods, were to me very gratifying. I pray that God may bless your labors, and that you may be strengthened to persevere until the opportunities for a good education shall be within the reach of every mind which God has made.

Yours, truly, M. SIMPSON.

SHAMEFUL CLOSING OF THE COLORED SCHOOLS IN LOUISIANA.

From the New Orleans Daily Tribune.

[The cruelty and injustice disclosed in the following article, give it a special claim to public attention. The New Orleans *Tribune* is a most able and excellent paper, published by the colored people in that city, one side in French and the other in English. The Southern newspapers, both loyal and rebel, are full of such revelations, all tending to show most unmistakably, what the colored population have to expect so soon as State sovereignty places them beyond the reach of Federal protection.]

THROUGH the exertions of the Board of Education, annexed to the Freedmen's Bureau, two hundred and thirty schools have been opened in Louisiana, where fifteen thousand children and a few hundred adults are enjoying the benefit of education. Some of these schools have been in existence for over two years; some have been but recently organized. The operations of the Board have been extended as fast as new parishes were brought into our lines.

Now it appears that the whole edifice, raised from the very ground by the energies of the Board, and against so many difficulties, will have to crumble to pieces, for want of adequate means of support. The colored schools had been maintained, during the first year of their existence—1863—by a tax on property, levied by virtue of military order. This tax has been strongly opposed by the rebels; but at last it has been enforced, and paid. In 1864 and 1865 the colored schools were supported on the revenue derived from confiscated and abandoned plantations. One hundred estates were under the administration of the Freedmen's Bureau, leased to parties who worked them; the rent was applied to the wants of the Bureau, and first of all to the support of the two hundred and thirty colored schools.

Now by the restoration of the lands to their former owners, who have taken part in the rebellion, the Bureau of Freedmen loses its means of support, and as a consequence said Bureau has to close the schools.

That such a result would be a shame for the country, there is no question. It would be a disgrace for the United States to send back to the barbarism of ignorance thousands of children—in a whole State—the moral welfare of whom the Government had undertaken to promote with the precious gift of education. But, if this Government cannot enforce the means of support, the schools have to be closed up and the children deprived of the advantages they now enjoy. Whence could the means of support be derived? As a general thing, it is to the people at large to pay for the public schools and to provide for the education of all children. We (the colored people) are paying a school tax in Louisiana. But the civil government, with a partiality worthy of slave-owners, uses this tax *for the benefit of the whites only.* So that the colored children are deprived, by the State, of the benefit of the State schools, and the *colored parents are robbed of the tax assessed upon them for educational purposes.*

If justice was done, the State schools would be opened to our children, as is the case in Massachusetts and—at the present time—in South Carolina herself. A number of white children already attend the schools of the Freedmen's Board, in the very city of New Orleans. There would be no harm to extend such a custom to all schools. By receiving our children in the existing schools supported by the State, the benefit of education would continue to be extended to the colored youth, and we would at least partake of the benefit derived from the school tax which is assessed upon us.

But, if the civil authorities refuse to give our children the benefit of the existing State schools, let a general tax be levied for the support of the schools now in charge of the Freedmen's Bureau. This tax should be general, as that of 1863; for it would be the highest injustice to levy the tax upon colored people only, for the education of their children, when we are paying our part for the education of the whites. Reciprocity of obligations is a social law; and we will not pay the benefit of schools—as great as it is—at the cost of the grossest injustice and robbery perpetrated upon us. Before we consent to be taxed twice while the white man is taxed once only, let the schools go down, and the nation at large be the judge between an unjust civil government and ourselves.

Interests of education are very important; but justice is also important in the management of social affairs. *We are taxed without being represented.* And if we allow, once, after being taxed for general services, to be taxed again for a particular object which ought to be included in the general aim, we are sure to be overtaxed for everything. We will, at last, bear the most of the public charges. Any precedent in that way will be dangerous for the future; it would be weakness on our part to open that field of robbery and exaction which will have no limit hereafter.

We must bear in mind that we have no voice in the Legislature; that we are therefore subject to be taxed without our consent, even without a hearing. We are ready to all sacrifices for the benefit and welfare of our children; but we would be recreant to our duty by making these sacrifices at the cost of dignity and right.

There are, therefore, two ways only to meet that question; either by admitting the colored children into the State schools, which we contribute to support, or by assessing the whole population on behalf of the colored schools. Should either of these means prove to be inacceptable to our State government, then let this government be responsible for the closing up, at one stroke, of two hundred and thirty schools, and the withdrawal of the benefit of education from fifteen thousand children, for reason of color; and let the country at large pronounce upon that shocking injustice.

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH.

From the Northampton (Mass.) Free Press.

MR. HAYWARD being prevented by sickness from speaking in Florence Hall last Sunday, Mr. Burleigh occupied the desk, and finished the discourse which he began a short time since from the text: "At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to pluck up, and to pull down, and to destroy it; if that nation against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil that I thought to do unto them. And at what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to build and to plant it; if it do evil in my sight, that it obey not my voice, then will I repent of the good wherewith I said I would benefit them."—Jer. 18: 7, 8, 9, 10. The speaker having shown that the text had reference to the great principles of retributive justice, and that in the nature of things no nation can prosper which disregards equity, he made application of the doctrine to the state of our country at the present time. He reviewed and criticised the course of the Government in its treatment of the black man, referred to the eminent loyalty, bravery, fidelity, forbearance, and military achievements of the colored people in the late fearful contest with the Slave Power; and showed the folly of treating the rebel States as though they had not seceded; for if it were true that a State could not go out of the Union, and they were all to be considered as still in the Union, then the President could not appoint a Provisional Governor, nor direct such a Governor to call a convention, nor say who should vote; and the rebellious States should have been allowed to have senators and representatives in Congress all through the war. The speaker gave a scorching rebuke to those who call this the white man's country, when for more than two hundred years the black man has lived in the country; laboring to subdue and till its soil; and fighting side by side with the white men, in the war for independence, and in the last war with England as well as in the late civil war; thus cementing with his mingled sweat and blood, the walls of our glorious temple of freedom. The ignorance of a large portion of the whites of the South was worse than that of the blacks; in that the ignorance of the whites was voluntary, while that of the blacks was compulsory. The speaker demanded the ballot for the black man on account of his manhood; as a means of his elevation; as a self-evident right; as a token of our gratitude, and as a necessary measure for the peace, protection and prosperity of both black and white. H.

THE MISSOURI OATH.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

THE Supreme Court of Missouri has affirmed the validity of the oath of loyalty required by the new Constitution to be taken by all clergymen before they can exercise their ministerial offices. The question is one which has arrayed clergymen of nearly all denominations against the law, the Roman Catholic priets being foremost in their opposition. All the Rebels were of course against it, many also who were not Rebels, for conscience sake, or for some indefinable ecclesiastical scruple. The Rebel and Roman Catholic journals contained the most inflammatory appeals to the ministers to refuse the oath, and to their flocks to rise in defense of the recalcitrant shepherds, should the State authorities enforce the State law. However, the Missouri Rebels seem to have an abiding sense of the fact that they have been whipped, and have been kind enough to allow the law to take its course without armed resistance.

John Cummins, a Roman Catholic priest, was indicted for exercising the functions of a preacher without having taken the required oath. The case was tried in a Circuit Court, the defendant found guilty, sentenced, and appealed. Mr. Justice Wagner of the Supreme Court now gives a careful opinion affirming the judgement of the Court below. The defendant objected to the law that it was in contravention of Article First, Section 10, of the Constitution of the United States, which prohibits the States from passing any bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law. But the law has nothing in common with bills of attainder, neither inflicting capital punishment, nor confiscating property, nor forfeiting any right. It is not an *ex post facto* law, because the oath is not prescribed with a view to punishment for any past offence, but for future protection. Neither does it conflict with other general provisions of the State Constitution securing civil, religious, political, or personal rights. We need not follow the Court in its argument further than to remark that the case of the defendant appears so surprisingly weak as to make the attempt at opposition one of extreme rashness and folly. The counsel, as counsel will do in such cases, talk of an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States, but they must know there is not one chance in a thousand of securing in that court a reversal of the judgment of the late tribunal. Be the act of the Missouri Convention wise or foolish, necessary or superfluous, it will stand till the people see fit to change it. And as to its wisdom, one thing seems clear—that it imposes a wholesome restriction on the rebellious tendencies of a large class of troublesome priests. [True: and not less Protestant than Catholic.—*Ed. Standard.*]

TENNESSEE AS A SLAVE AND FREE STATE.

From the Memphis Loyalist.

BEFORE the war the State of Tennessee had two hundred and thirty-eight millions four hundred and fifty-six thousand six hundred and thirty-five dollars of dead capital—capital invested in negroes whose labor was not a whit more available than it may now be made. Is it not a profit to be freed from the necessity of investing from eight hundred to a thousand dollars to get the services of every black? Won't the small planters find it vastly better to spend a thousand dollars in hiring blacks than in paying a thousand dollars to get the labor of one black, and then afterwards being obliged to pay him. The slaveholder never did get the labor of the black for nothing. The slave had to be fed and clothed and cared for in sickness and in old age. The master was taxed not only for these but for the support of the children and the superannuated on the estate. There was only $493,903,892 worth of taxable property in Tennessee when $238,456,635 was locked up in slaves. There will be a profit in having the capital of the State available, when the negro labor will be just as available as it was before. We believe that in a State of freedom blacks will work better than as slaves. The master now pays in cash for negro labor and is more exacting than when he had his money invested in slaves. There are just as many whites who don't want to work as there are blacks, and the reformation of lazy poor whites of the South will be a harder task than the reformation of lazy negroes. It is not, however, to the planter alone that the path of honor will be the path of duty. Every landholder will be immensely profited by keeping plighted faith with the nation and treating the negro as a free man. There are 72,735 farms in Tennessee, and they comprised 5,175,173 acres of improved and 13,808,849 acres of unimproved land in 1861. The average value of the land was eight dollars an acre. There are yet 10,400,078 acres of land that are wild and unappropriated in Tennessee. Tennessee has a milder and more salubrious climate, a richer soil, more valuable mineral productions and just as convenient access to market as Illinois, Iowa and Minnesota, but while land in those States ranges from forty to a hundred dollars an acre, land in the glorious State of Tennessee only averaged eight dollars an acre. Why? Because the slaveholders, who were the one-fifth of the people, repelled emigration, lest such emigration from the North should imperil the dead capital that they had locked up in slaves. Six hundred thousand white people left the slave States for the free northwest, while altogether only two hundred thousand emigrated from the free States to the South. While slavery lasted emigration and capital from the North were not desired. They were rejected, repelled, and in some cases driven away by illegal violence. The effect was that land in Tennessee was only worth eight dollars an acre. If the negro is treated as a free man—if there is no fear of Northern and European emigration—if these are encouraged, the land in Tennessee must rise in value, and be worth just as much as in the North. If land rises in value every landholder will be made rich. A planter in Hardiman county had formerly twenty slaves and two thousand acres of land. His twenty slaves represented $20,000 of dead capital. His land was worth $10 an acre. Altogether his land and negroes were supposed to be worth $40,000. The war liberated his slaves. What will his condition be if emigration and the flow of capital to Tennessee goes on unchecked by fears that it may stand in the way of negro re-enslavement by State laws? He no longer pays taxes on $20,000 of dead capital, and the wages of twenty hands are little more than were their keeping and wastefulness formerly. In five years his land will be in demand by Northern farmers, who will settle about him, and he can sell it if he desires to do so at forty dollars an acre. His land alone will thus make him worth eighty thousand dollars, or twice as much as his land and slaves were worth altogether formerly. There are other proofs that the path of honor is the path of profit, but our space forbids their enumeration in this article.

PROPOSED IMPORTATION OF COOLIES IN THE SOUTH.—We find in the New Orleans *Picayune* the following statements concerning a Southern proposition to import Coolies:

"The subject of introducing Coolies to cultivate our present untilled and unoccupied plantations has recently engaged the consideration of enterprising capitalists and property owners. It is thought the introduction of this description of labor would secure to our people the wholesome influence, now greatly needed, of competition to operate upon our freedmen in securing from them more regular and efficient labor than can at present be expected of them. Without such security, capital is timid and indisposed to invest in the culture of the great staples, success in which depends on the command and control of the labor for the whole season.

"An enterprising firm in this city, having abundant means, foreign connections, and familiar with the whole business of Coolie importation, recently addressed Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State, to know whether the United States would aid in or give its sanction to the experiment of introducing these laborers into the South. This communication was referred to the Bureau of Immigration, which replied that the Coolie trade was prohibited by an act of Congress of 1862. That act makes it a severe penal offence for registered United States ships to engage in what is called the Coolie trade, that is the deportation of Chinese from any part of China to any foreign port, with a view of holding them to servitude, or, for a term of years, as laborers. The same act, however, provides that no obstacle shall be made to the *voluntary* immigration of this people, and, as proof of the voluntary character of such deportation, it requires a certificate of the United States consuls in China.

"But in referring to this topic, which is being discussed among citizens, we do not propose for the present to go further than to glance at it, as one of the many schemes which have been proposed to resuscitate our present depressed and prostrate agriculture."

LETTER FROM P. A. TAYLOR, ESQ.,

MEMBER OF THE BRITISH PARLIAMENT.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

M. D. CONWAY, Esq.—*My Dear Sir,*—You ask me what view I take upon the great question of the day in America—Negro Suffrage.

I can only reply that negro suffrage, by which I mean non-exclusion from political rights on the ground of color, appears to me the logical and unavoidable corollary of the struggle of the last four years.

Nay more, it appears to me a necessity so plain in the interests of the security and progress of the great Republic, as well as for the fulfilment of the simplest behests of justice, that I cannot bring myself to doubt that when the question comes to issue the American people will be in no danger of coming to any but a righteous solution of this momentous problem.

You know well that through the whole course of your tremendous struggle I have been a fervent well-wisher to, and believer in, the success of the great cause on which depends so much the future of America and of freedom all over the world. You will remember how, as from time to time success or failure attended upon the arms, and by reflection upon the politics of the North, we hoped or feared; and how we used to speculate upon what particular danger seemed to loom most threateningly upon the horizon. Now we would fear lest the terrible sacrifices of the war might shake the constancy and determination of the North; now we would fear lest the old habit of compromise, the old spirit of faction, might patch up a peace inconsistent alike with honor or security.

But there was one danger which it never did occur to us to tremble before, and which I decline to give way to now (albeit you will perhaps charge me with shutting myself up in a fool's paradise!), and that was, that you should gain a victory so absolute, so glorious, so crushing, as you have done—over foes abroad as well as foes at home—and should then immediately proceed to throw away its fruits; to forget alike the cause for which you had been fighting and terrible price you had paid for victory; and in a fit of maudlin fondness should again take to your bosom the serpent which it had cost so much adversity to freeze into harmlessness.

"But we have abolished slavery!" I see some say—yes, in words, but in how much else? The negro can no longer pass as property from one planter to another on payment of so many dollars; but is he a free agent, or where is the security that he shall become so, or remain so, while you place him tied hand and foot at the disposition of laws made exclusively by those masters who, to their former contempt, now superadd hatred and fear of him? What chance of justice is there to the man who is disentitled from giving his evidence in a court of law, and who, at the will of his former masters, may be rendered liable to all the old Black Laws? Wasthis what you fought so nobly for—to change slavery into say "involuntary servitude?" I cannot believe it. Christian-like, you have passed through the dread Valley of the Shadow of Death. The hideous darkness of the pit is behind you, the mocking fiends have whispered their last foul suggestions in your ears, the pure daylight is before you; are you going to turn back, to retrace your steps upon the path over which you passed trembling and in terror, and to tumble at last into the pit of compromise and sin? Once more I refuse to believe it.

Now forgive me any expressions which may seem to smack of impertinence in a foreigner. I don't feel like a foreigner in discussing your politics; but to me your course seems so clearly marked out and defined—not, God knows, without difficulties—nor without need for strength and courage; still so clear in its aim and direction.

Slavery—the dire and all-sufficient cause of all your woes—is not like an isolated law whose ill effects are gone when the law is repealed. It is too truly an "Institution"—pervading everything, corrupting everything, from the heart and conscience of man to the most trivial external conventionalism. You must destroy its roots, or it will not begin to die. Where are those roots? Down deep in the principles affecting the tenure of land and the remuneration of labor. Do you think slavery will die while you maintain that distribution of landed property with which it was consistent, and which was its offering? I say again, your course would have seemed to me so clear on the collapse of the Rebellion: 1. To persons—amnesty. 2. To property—confiscation. 3. To humanity—freedom.

If you think to kill slavery without fulfilling the second condition, you are sanguine; if without the second and third, you are, pardon me, insane.

There is neither mercy nor security in trying to effect these great social revolutions step by step. If the limb has to come off, it is sheer cruelty to cut through the skin one day, the flesh the next, the bone next week, and to postpone tying up the arteries for a month. For the sake of the South itself you must seem cruel that you may be kind. Is it even certain that the plan of *reconstruction without freedom* would not bring upon the Southern planters that *servile war* of which we used to hear so much.

You have taught these negroes that they are men; you have organized and drilled them; you have proved to themselves, and the world, that in courage, discipline and endurance they are equal to the whites. *History has recorded that they can save the State.* Is it not to be feared—I had well nigh said hoped—that when next their masters lacerate their backs, violate their wives, or ill treat their little ones, they may say: "The lesson you teach us we will execute, and it shall go hard but we will better the instruction?" Among the many glorious and touching pictures that your war has given birth to, and which will long live in the minds of Englishmen, none has ever touched me more than that of the gallant Col. Shaw buried on the field of his glory amid a hecatomb of his brave and devoted black soldiers. Are you going to give us a companion picture in truest antithesis? and show to the world the flag of American freedom reversed and buried amid a mighty pyramid of the dishonored corpses of half a million of your best and bravest? No. I do not believe it; but I remain, very sincerely, yours, P. A. TAYLOR.

M. D. CONWAY, Esq.

THE NAKED TRUTH.

THE Florida *Times*, issued at Jacksonville, with reference to the conflict of assertions respecting free negro labor, has the following transcript from its experience:

"We daily come in contact with representatives of the two classes, and it is instructive to listen to their expressions and contrast their experience. One comes in from driving his 'niggers,' and with despairing, haggard, vexed countenance, declares 'the d—d niggers won't work, and there is no use in trying them—I pay fifteen dollars per month, and rations more than they can consume, and two of them won't do as much work as one slave—they won't work—we can raise no cotton by free labor!' Another planter replies. 'I have no difficulty—I work fifty hands, pay them ten dollars per month, and two of them do more work than three slaves? It is the way you treat them. I find no difficulty.'

"An intelligent slaveholder, a gentleman of cultivation and liberal views, met a large planter foaming, fretting, cursing, despairing—the country was ruined, no more cotton could be raised, 'niggers' wouldn't work, his plantation was valueless, etc.,

magistrates were deliberating on the cases, and were met by a volley of musketry from the company of volunteers on guard. The rioters soon fired the school-house and court-house, and killed two of the magistrates, a clergyman, and several others who attempted to escape from the windows of the burning building. The bodies of the magistrates were mutilated and the tongue of the clergyman was cut out. The storm of riot then rushed on to other districts, and at Houdley a number of persons, including women and children, were besieged in the Government house where they had taken refuge. A few regular troops had arrived at Kingston, and the British governor there was enrolling volunteers to put down the revolt. Forty insurgents had already been hung. Paul Boyle, the leader of the insurgent negroes is described as having had the reputation of being a pacific and jovial character, and has surprised those who knew him. Another leader named Grant is said to be a very sensible man and a member of the local committee. At last accounts the insurrection was assuming large proportions, and a band of negroes, 800 strong, were thoroughly organized and sweeping all before them. Business was entirely suspended at Kingston.—*Worcester Spy.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 18, 1865.

PROPOSED AMENDMENT OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION.

NO STATE SHALL MAKE ANY DISTINCTION IN CIVIL RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES AMONG THE NATURALIZED CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES RESIDING WITHIN ITS LIMITS, OR AMONG PERSONS BORN ON ITS SOIL OF PARENTS PERMANENTLY RESIDENT THERE, ON ACCOUNT OF RACE, COLOR, OR DESCENT.

THE STANDARD Subscribers to whom bills are sent, will confer a favor by remitting the amounts due at their earliest convenience.

THE PRESIDENT'S POLICY.

As the days that precede the meeting of Congress grow few, events begin to move rapidly. The President sees two things: that his unchecked power over the question of reconstruction is short-lived, and that the policy which so far has brought only confusion and disgrace must succeed, if it succeeds at all, by engrafting new measures upon it. His purpose, however, remains unchanged, and every desperate expedient he clutches at only shows how resolute he is to save his own scheme though he destroy the nation in the attempt.

That purpose we believe may be stated in a sentence: To bring back the States without Negro Suffrage. To that the President makes everything else bend. We, therefore, on the other hand, demand that everything shall bend to the purpose of keeping them out until Negro Suffrage is secured.

Mark the successive steps which the President has taken. First came the proclamations appointing Provisional Governors, and directing Conventions of loyal white citizens to reconstruct a republican form of government. When these Conventions met, they were required to pass ordinances repealing or nullifying the ordinances of secession, and to abolish slavery. There the President stopped, alleging he had no power to interfere in other matters of State concern. The Conventions of South Carolina and Mississippi were permitted to meet and adjourn, having done no other act than these two. Next, but only after a long interval of time, the President made up his mind to require the repudiation of the rebel war debt by the different States; and this, though most reluctantly, was conceded by Alabama, North Carolina, and Georgia. Lastly, and only within a few days, the fiat went forth from Washington that the insurgent States must ratify the Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery before they could hope for recognition by the Executive or by Congress; and to that order South Carolina is the first, and so far the only one, to yield obedience.

Several things follow. *First:* The President's policy, properly so called, as embodied in the original proclamations, was a failure, and had to be abandoned. *Second:* What drove him to abandon it was the conviction of the loyal North that it was totally inadequate to save the Union. *Third:* As the South yields, and feels that it must yield to the demand of Repudiation and Constitutional Amendment, it would have yielded, and must yield, to a demand for Negro Suffrage. *Fourth:* That as public opinion drove the President to require other conditions, the same force must drive him to require Negro Suffrage. If it cannot be got from him, it must be got from Congress; and the only means to secure it from either is continued and unceasing agitation at the North. Strong as the President is, the people are stronger than he. If they can be educated, he must obey their convictions.

We speak of the President's policy as modified by events; and we add to that events have demonstrated the inconsistency of the professions with which he set out. Nevertheless, the President's *purpose* is consistent, and has not yielded to events nor to public opinion. We cannot change him; we change his acts. His purpose was and is Reconstruction without Negro Suffrage. For that end, he entertained a while the plan of smuggling rebel representatives into Congress by putting them on the roll of the Clerk of the House, before its organization. Mr. McPherson did not prove pliant to the pressure, nor the North tolerant of such a swindle. Satisfied he must abandon it, the President has since directed all his efforts to moulding the reconstructive legislation of the States in such shape that they should finally present themselves to Congress with an irresistible claim to admission. Instructed by popular dissatisfaction with the progress of his original policy, he became persuaded that Congress would reject every rebel representative who should present himself thus reconstructed. State after State at the North pronounced against the President, and compelled the successive modifications we have traced in his policy, until finally thirty thousand Republican majority in New York gave us the Constitutional Amendment in South Carolina. With that, the President flatters himself and the South that no further conditions will be demanded. Unhappily for him and for her, the same day that brought us the news of its adoption brought us the new Slave Code which the same legislature is enacting into statutes, and which makes the adoption of the abolition amendment delusive and insulting. The moment is auspicious, therefore, for renewing the demand that the ballot shall be put into the hands of the negro that he may protect himself against that oppression of State law from which no Federal legislation can ever completely shield him.

When we are told, then, that the President's policy has secured much, we answer that unless it has secured all it has secured nothing. When features of this policy are presented for our approbation, we answer that the whole scheme was premature, and that the wisest thing Congress can do is to ignore the whole, and start afresh. If we are told it has gone too far for that, and are asked to approve so much of the policy as secures nullification of the secession ordinances, we answer that several States have refused to nullify. If we are asked to approve the repudiation of the rebel debt, we answer that no convention nor legislature has yet passed such an act as the people of the State may not, and probably will not, reject on the ground of duress. If we are asked to approve the adoption of the Constitutional amendment by South Carolina, we answer that there is no evidence that any legislative body exists in that State legally competent to express the approval of the people. There is no State Government of South Carolina known to the law. There can be none till Congress has prescribed the terms on which that and every other insurrectionary State may resume its relations to the Federal Government. The same objection controls every legislative act which either of those States under their Provisional Governments has assumed to perform. Every one of Mr. Johnson's Provisional Governors derives his authority from military law. They are Proconsuls ruling conquered provinces. The validity of their acts within the scope of their duty is unquestionable, but they cannot make a State. Only Congress can do that, or do what is, for present purposes, the same thing—re-admit to the Union a State that in fact went out of it. Fully believing the power of the Federal Government to be supreme over the States in rebellion, we deny that one branch of the Government can rightfully exercise the functions and authority of the whole Government. Hence we are compelled to doubt the possibility of a complete and legal ratification of the amendment by any legislature convoked under the authority of a Provisional Governor. When those legislatures are recognized by Congress, when the acts of the President receive the sanction of that body, when Congress has declared for the people of these United States the terms on which they choose to receive the rebel States once more to a share in the Government, the amendment will then be properly before their legislatures for amendment or rejection. We have no doubt Congress may require that ratification as a condition precedent to their readmission, so that the amendment may be secured before a single rebel representative takes his seat in either House. But eagerly as we desire to see that amendment adopted, we do not desire to see it perfected by an act of Executive usurpation—an act, moreover, designed and well fitted to cajole the North with a parchment security, while it leaves the South at full liberty to re-establish slavery by State Codes for the oppression of the negro.

Strange that no journal lifts its voice to expose this snare. Tricked by the cunning of the President, the North fails to see that this illegal and void ratification of the amendment is to be made the argument which shall estop all Congressional opposition to the reconstruction scheme of the President and the admission of his rebel representatives. The ratification of the amendment is the most solemn legislative act South Carolina could perform, and the one which assumes the most intimate relations with the general Government. If the President could enable her to effect that, she is a State, and she will claim, and the President will claim for her, the right of immediate and unconditional representation in Congress.

A MAN SOUGHT BUT NOT FOUND.

IN 1859 the Democracy of Mississppi reported at the Cincinnati Convention the following resolution:

"Resolved, That the National Democratic party believe in the perfect political equality of the States, and that the citizens of every State have an equal right to emigrate peaceably to the Territories, and to take with them whatever is recognized as property in the State from which they go, and there receive for it *adequate legal protection;* that there is no power in Congress or in the Territorial Legislature to exclude from the Territories anything which is regarded as property in a State; but when a Territory has sufficient Federal population, lawfully ascertained, to entitle it to one Representative in Congress (*i. e.*, according to the present ratio, 93,420), it is the duty of Congress to authorize the Territory to form a State Constitution, republican in its form, preparatory to admission into the Union as a State, and that it is no constitutional ground of objection to the admission of such State that the Constitution thus formed either admits or excludes slavery."

The milk in this cocoa-nut has been taken to the pump of the Amended Constitution to water, and the gist of it now is, that it is no constitutional objection to the admission of a rebel State that its Constitution excludes a portion of its people from the right of representation on account of the color of the skin. That is as good for the purpose of oppression as slavery itself. Receive that as the law of Union and the slaveholding Democracy are victorious.

The unaltered doctrine of the Democracy is, that the exclusion from the right of voting of such portion of the people as the State chooses to exclude is no violation of a republican form of government. But they now put it because that government is a white man's government, that being the rule of reconstruction. The colored race are not admitted to be a portion of the people, not regarded as such, not to be treated as such.

Is there any one of the present political parties, struggling for supremacy, that repudiates this injustice, and can be relied upon to resist it, and to carry into force against it the guarantee of a republican form of government in the Constitution?

The Democracy of a white man's government believe in the equal rights of the States, the equality of the States, but not of the people. They believe in State Sovereignty, but not in the sovereignty of the people. They believe in the sovereign right of the States to trample on one class of the people and exalt another.

This doctrine of State Rights has so afflicted the understandings of men of all parties that even Mr. G. T. Curtis, in his work on the History of the Constitution, sets it down among the benefits gained to humanity by the Constitution being established, that "the social strength and security occasioned by constantly increasing wealth [in the hands of the whites], combined with the acknowledgment and establishment of the doctrine *which makes every State the uncontrolled arbiter of the domestic condition of its inhabitants,* has put it in the power of those who have charge of the negro to deal prudently and wisely with their great problem, without the interference of those who could benefit neither race by their intervention. This, in every rational view of the subject, cannot but be regarded as one of the chief blessings conferred by the Constitution of the United States."

And again, "the patriot and the Christian can have no real cause for regret or complaint that, in a system of representative government, made necessary by controlling circumstances, the *unimportant anomaly* should be found of a representation of men *without political rights or social privileges,* or that the question of emancipation, either for the mass or the individual, should be carefully secured to local authority."

The unimportant anomaly!

And again, "That the individuals of an inferior race already placed in the condition of servitude to a superior one may, by the force of necessity, be rightfully left in the care and dominion of those on whom they have been cast, is a proposition of morals entirely fit to be admitted by a Christian statesman."

If the writer had said entirely *unfit,* this would have been a just declaration. As it stands, it justifies not only slavery as it was, but the new slavery which is being imposed on the colored race. It justifies the oppression of one race by another.

The old conservative Whigs, the slave Democrats, the Copperheads, and the modern Republicans, who have "no theory to propose in regard to suffrage," stand here on the same platform. "Let each State," they say, "be the uncontrolled arbiter of the domestic condition of its inhabitants."

On this platform we need not be surprised if even in the next Congress we find those calling themselves Republicans admitting that the government of the rebel States is a republican form of government according to the guarantee of the Constitution, so long as it is a government by representation of the whites, although there be in it the "unimportant anomaly" of a majority of the people in some States and a large minority in others, excluded from the right of representation on the ground of the color of their skin. This is what they are already admitting, rather than break with the President. To put the article of the equality of men of all races before the law among their principles, would have necessitated, in their belief, a breaking with the President; and this, according to the same creed, would have been the loss of their power as a party. The first political principle, therefore, was not to break with the President. But to unite in defence of the rights of the colored race would have been to break with the President. Therefore the colored race must be left out of the programme, and only the white race admitted.

Does not this prove their belief that the President is against the negro, against the admission of the rights of the colored race as equal to the rights of the whites? Does not this prove that they know that the President's plan of reconstruction involves the exclusion of the colored race from their rights, at the will of the States recently in rebellion? Are they not then guilty of deception when they affirm that the President is all right? And what shall be said of the assurance given to the country by such a man as Mr. Beecher, knowing as he does that the President's plan excluded by proclamation, from the beginning, the blacks from the right to vote, and believing, as he says he does, that the blacks have the right to vote, and that it is a natural right;—what shall be said of Mr. Beecher's assurance to the country that the President is all right, that thus far he cannot lay his hand upon an act which does not seem apt, fitting, and most wise; and that no New England man could do so well as Mr. Johnson, though he might know more!

What shall we think again, of his saying that he does not know what the President's mind is, in regard to this great and solemn question? How does this comport with his knowing that the President is right? And again, if he does not know what the President's mind is, how can he thank God that the President is a Southern man and not a Northern, and affirm that he is just the man we want, if we are going to reconstruct?

And again, how can he say that the President has left those questions to Congress, when it is well known that the President has never once referred to Congress as having any part in the determination of these questions, but has gone on with the greatest rapidity determining these questions himself for the rebel States, by proclamations, by appointment of Governors, and instructions to the same, by telegraphic dispatches, by arresting processes of confiscation, by the pardon of the rebels, conferring upon them the power of the vote, at the same time forbidding it to be conferred upon the blacks, and by giving back to distinguished rebels their property and their right to vote, thus enabling them for election to membership in Congress? Mr. Beecher must be aware of all this, and that in all this the President has never taken one step in behalf of the colored race, nor made any reference of their rights to Congress, but on the contrary has himself determined by precedent, as the law of reconstruction thus far, the point of controlling importance, the question most necessary to have been referred to Congress for a constitutional and just determination, namely, the question of the right of the colored loyal people of the South to vote; has himself determined that point by appointing the conditions of reconstruction, by excluding them from voting, and admitting only the whites to a share in the Government?

How long shall prophets daub the walls of tyrants with untempered mortar? "And all the prophets prophesied so, saying, go up to Ramoth Gilead and prosper."

Mr. Beecher seems to take upon himself the office of rebuking those who criticize and oppose the plan of the President. If his name had been Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah, in the presence of Ahab King of Israel—but we do not wish to pursue the parallel. It is Mr. Beecher's friendship for the colored race that renders it necessary to warn the people, who would maintain their rights, against believing Mr. Beecher, when he assures the country that the President is proceeding with eminent wisdom and fitness.

Go up to Ramoth Gilead, but see if thou return at all in peace?

ABOUT MONUMENTS.

THE *Evening Post* of the 8th instant has an editorial article on the subject of monuments to the slain in the late struggle between the North and South. With strange charitableness and impartiality, the *Post* thinks that if the South would rear columns or cathedrals to the memory of their fallen soldiers "they should do so by all means." "*Let no one object.*" Considering the cause, the conduct, and the spirit of the war on their part, probably no one should have a loftier, whiter, or more gorgeous monument than poor Wirz who was hanged last week. And if it be proposed to rear it on the spot where stood the gallows, will the *Post* not say again, "let no one object?" Some thirty-five years ago, in Virginia, a brave negro slave, Nat Turner by name, instituted a desperate movement for Freedom, not Slavery, and to this hour no marble tells of his heroic deeds. They called him an insurrectionist and rebel, but he did not strike at a nation's life. Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee did. Not one act of wanton, needless cruelty stained Nat Turner's footsteps. Davis and Lee had their Andersonville and Libby, Salisbury and Belle Isle prisons, not to speak of Milliken's Bend, Fort Pillow, and other butcheries of blood-curdling horror, as chorus after battles had been fought. And now, if on all these "damned spots," they choose to erect pyramids of Parian marble to the memory of their braves, "let them do so by all means," would the *Post* say?

What most profoundly strikes an observer of the minds and movements of to-day is, the entire absence of all fidelity to principle and justice, and even regard for common decency, fitness, and propriety. In country schools forty years ago, the masters punished the small scholars, least guilty as well as least grown, and pardoned the larger ones, and even praised them when in so doing some selfish end was to be gained. Lee is president of a college, and Johnston of a great express company in the South, and with many other of the tallest rebels equally favored, sleep securely in their beds. Wirz, the pitchfork with which they tossed their victims in the fires of their Andersonville hell, we hanged last Friday, and buried him in the hole of a culprit and murderer. The white rebels who made the war, we pardon, and in battalions restore to citizenship. The loyal blacks to whom, under Divine favor, we owe our national salvation, we drop back again to their bottomless perdition. There they are to dig and die under whatever whip or scorpion scourge the surviving Wirzes and Winders may choose, to catechise them back again to obedience. Why may not the devil and his angels be now restored to Paradise? and why not the faithful and loyal who swept them down to the abyss, go, under a new plan of reconstruction, and fill their places in the dread abodes? Would the outrages be much unlike?

Justice could brook one as well as the other. The *Post* says the private soldiers, and we doubt not many of their commanders, fought sincerely. But that seems doubtful reason for expending much money in monuments to their honor, while we positively prohibit the payment of the debt incurred by the war they waged. Nor does it appear that "sincerity" in such a cause should restore them to suffrage and citizenship, while brave and loyal black men are deprived of that right on account of ignorance. Every negro saw by instinct the infamous character of the Southern cause. But the *Post* even now "sees no reason to object" to marble pillars and monumental cathedrals to the honor of those who fell in it. Once it was not so with insurrectionists, rebels, robbers, and murderers; but we have fallen on strange times, and we inculcate new manners. Let the *Post* tell the rest:

We copied yesterday from the Baltimore *American* some particulars of the project for a monument to Stonewall Jackson. We have recently printed an account, also, of the scheme of a Memphis clergyman, who asks for subscriptions for a cathedral, in which it is proposed to record the names of the Southern dead and the achievements of Southern generals. We, in the Northern States, are naturally a little ahead of the South with monuments to our fallen brave. A statue of Gen. Berry, who fell so nobly at Chancellorsville, was erected in Maine last week, and we have heard of several other monuments erected in different parts of the Northern States.

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But we began with some allusion to Stonewall Jackson's Monument—what about that? Should the great rebel Captain have also a statue? Is it right that any city of the Union shall contain a cathedral commemorative of the services of those who fought against the Union? *Well, yes, we do not see any reason to object.* If the people of Virginia, or of the Southern States, choose to erect a monument to Jackson, *let them do so, by all means.* If they think it well to build a commemorative pile at Memphis, or elsewhere, *let no one object.* They were mistaken—these Southern soldiers—but they fought us bravely; they gave us a hard tug; they endured manfully; they gave their lives freely; and no one will presume to doubt that the private soldiers and the greater number of the military commanders fought sincerely. They paid with their lives for their fatal error—*let us honor their sincerity,* of which surely they could give no higher proof.

But while we think that the whole matter may be properly left to public opinion in the different States, and while we hope the question will not be discussed in the journals in an acrimonious tone, it does not seem to us fit that men of the Northern States should contribute to the monument of a general whose life was lost in an effort to destroy the Union, and whose genius and skill caused the death of so many of our brothers and friends. Nor does it seem to us decent that a Northern sculptor, Volck, of Chicago, should have consented to make the statue of Stonewall Jackson. Nevertheless, that is also a matter of taste and sympathy. No doubt those in the North who, during the war, wished for the defeat of our cause, will now contribute to honor those who fought against us. For our own part, while we respect the bravery of Stonewall Jackson, we shall not forget, nor suffer our children to forget, that he turned his skill and genius, and the very education his country gave him, against that country.

FULLERTON'S FOLLY.

AND worse than folly. We must go back to the early days of the war or to Montgomery Blair's last speech to find anything so bad as Brevet Brig.-Gen. Fullerton's address to the Freedmen of Louisiana. Yet Gen. Fullerton is the new Commander of the Freedmen's Bureau for Louisiana, a post that more than almost any other requires intelligence, tact, and good faith in dealing with the negroes. Of these qualities Gen. Fullerton has a plentiful lack. It is not merely that he thinks it necessary to repeat stale lectures to the freedmen on the beauties of industry. Probably the blacks have become so used to that sort of talk they would doubt the genuineness of an address which did not reiterate it. Under Gen. Fullerton idleness is to bring something more than its natural penalties of want and suffering. This Bureau Commissioner has the inconceivable insolence to threaten the free blacks of Louisiana with forcible expatriation should they fail to come up to his standard of diligence. We quote his words:

"If you do not work of your own accord, or if the law cannot compel you to work, *then you must leave the country,* and the good opportunities that you now have of gaining a living and making yourselves independent, will be given to more deserving persons."

Who made Gen. Fullerton Autocrat of all the Louisianas? Who put in his hands a power to which the compulsion of the lash was trivial? Who farmed out to him the lands of a great State that he might demand productive toil from its inhabitants or exile them from it forever? Upon what meat doth this Louisiana Cæsar feed that he is grown so great? Is there any limit to his power? None such is discoverable in his address. The expression we have quoted is not isolated nor accidental, but reappears throughout the paper in various forms. Compulsory Labor is the theory of the whole of it; labor to be performed in the execution of a contract which the blacks had no share in making, under which they have no protection, the rewards of which they have no certainty of securing, and for failure in which punishment is to be inexorably enforced. The thing you must learn above all others, says Mr. Fullerton, is that a contract must be sacredly observed. No matter whether you made the contract for yourselves, or somebody else made it for you—it must be *sacredly* observed. "In the absence of civil law, contracts for hire have been made for you by the agents of this Bureau and by military officers." As the planters cannot themselves enforce these contracts, "instructions will therefore be given to all officers and agents of this Bureau to *compel* those of you who do not do so to work and fulfil your obligations." How "compel?" By any process of law, trial, verdict, pecuniary mulct in proportion to the damage suffered by the other party to the contract? Nothing of the kind. By military law and the open threat of banishment from the soil. Has that military law yet ceased to include as one means of compulsion the lash which in late years United States Provost-Marshals have laid on the backs of "emancipated" blacks? Nor is Gen. Fullerton's system of peonage temporary in its duration. If he is to administer the District of Louisiana, the continuance of the blacks under compulsory contracts promises to be lifelong. "As soon as these contracts expire," proclaims Gen. Fullerton, "you must make new ones similar to them for the coming year."

We trust this is not a specimen of the parental care which the Freedmen's Bureau is generally bestowing on its unfortunate wards. Instead of benefit to the freedmen, instead of watchful guardianship over his interests, instead of an effort to discharge some part of the immeasurable obligation which this country owes to the negro, a Bureau under Commissioners of the Fullerton stamp could be capable of nothing but insult and injury.

Since the above was in type Fullerton has been removed, and Gen. Baird put in his place, but the change is in no respect an improvement either personally or officially. Gen. Baird has continued and reaffirmed all the orders of Gen. Fullerton which Gen. Canby had not previously annulled.

THE BOND OF UNION.

WHEN Pilate sent Jesus to Herod's jurisdiction, and Herod referred him again to Pilate, after setting him at nought, that same day Pilate and Herod were made friends together; for before they were at enmity between themselves.

The mutual conspiracy and hatred of the two parties against a just person overcame their hostility against one another and united them.

This is the secret of the union between the Democracy and the President, their mutual prejudice against the colored race, and their agreement of a mutual jurisdiction to crucify them, though no fault is found in them but the color of the skin. They are made friends in united hatred of the negro.

The Republicans, on the other hand, love the President so dearly that they refuse to take the colored race under their protection, lest they should break with him. This party makes an old friendship the ground of a common enmity.

The other party makes an old common enmity the ground of a new friendship. Both come to the same conclusion, the desertion of an injured race. Which is the worthier?

Which arrangement is the most moral, the most honorable, the least hypocritical? One party says the President is all right; he hates what we hate. The other party says, the President is all right; what he hates *we do not love,* and we cannot afford to break with him; not that we love the colored race less, but him more.

There is no love lost on either side. A celebrated wit was asked why he did not marry a young lady to whom he was much attached. "I know not," he replied, "except the *great regard* we have for each other."

If there were the same common honesty and respect now, there could be no banns between either political party and the President. The element of yoke-fellowship, after all, is the great regard of each to the spoils of office.

But meantime, the marriage is that of our upper and nether millstone, and between the two the negro is ground to powder.

THE FREEDMEN AT THE CHURCH OF THE PURITANS.—A large assembly at the Church of the Puritans on Sunday evening listened with deep interest to addresses from Rev. Mr. French and Gen. Fiske, upon the condition of the freedmen and the operations of the Bureau. The freedmen in South Carolina and Georgia are in a miserable state of destitution and suffering; those in Kentucky are not much better off, and many wives and children of our colored soldiers in Texas are yet under the lash of the taskmaster. One Justice of the Peace, when reprimanded for sentencing a colored woman to be whipped, declared he did not know slavery was abolished, and that he had not seen a single newspaper in three years. Thousands, it was said, must die before next Spring of starvation and destitution unless relief is extended from abroad. On the platform was a young colored man of Tennessee with both feet cut off at the ankle joint as a punishment for running away the second time, and to effectually prevent a third offence. Money was contributed to supply as far as may be his terrible loss, by artificial application.

REV. DR. MASSIE.—Dr. Massie, of London, delivered a most admirable lecture at the Cooper Institute, on the condition and wants of freedmen, stating that he had travelled through the South and observed them closely, and expressing the conviction that they should be allowed to give evidence and exercise the rights of suffrage. The doctor has been for many years the eloquent and consistent advocate of every enterprise for human amelioration, as well in his own country as abroad. Both himself and the late Mrs. Massie have been long known in this country as faithful Abolitionists, and when the war broke forth in 1861, the Doctor entered with full sympathy for the North into the contest, in a firm faith that out of the storm of battle would come the redemption of the enslaved. Greatly gratified with his visit here, he sailed for his home on Saturday, from which he has been absent about four months.

Judge Underwood, of Virginia, has finally succeeded in condemning Gov. Wise's estate. It turns out, however, that his real estate was so heavily incumbered that it will not pay the expenses of the litigation on the part of the Government.

WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.—An old gentleman, of rather conservative proclivities, once said: "Republicanism is dangerous; if carried out, I may live to see the negro marching up to the ballot box, and next the women will take it into their heads that they ought to have rights equal with the negro." It is even so. The women in Minnesota, says the *Rel. Philo. Journal* of Chicago, are circulating petitions asking—demanding—the right of suffrage; will they be successful? Must the women of America, the wives, mothers, daughters of soldiers, statesmen, poets, and preachers be forever doomed to support a government they have no voice in making? Must we look quietly on and see ourselves represented by the negro, the Irishman, the ignorant and drunken of our own—of all nations? The Minnesota papers are discussing the question: "Shall women vote?" But here is the petition, and a prayer that the women of Minnesota may accomplish this good work so nobly begun:

PETITION.

To the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Minnesota in Legislature assembled:

We, the undersigned inhabitants of Minnesota, respectfully petition your honorable body to take the proper measures for so amending the Constitution that *sex* shall not be a qualification for voting or holding office. We append a few reasons for asking this amendment:

1st. Woman has an individuality in respect to mental, moral, social, and pecuniary interests, as well as man, and, therefore, she should have a voice in making laws which promote or affect those interests.

2d. Woman suffers many evils under our present laws, which might be remedied if she enjoyed the right of franchise.

3d. Men claim that taxation without representation is unjust; which is true. And, applied to woman, it is of course equally unjust.

4th. The participation of woman at the Ballot-Box would tend to impart a refining and purifying influence to our politics.

5th. Many of the sovereigns of European nations have been women, and few feel that Queen Victoria is out of her appropriate sphere as the head of Church and State in England. She has done honor both to herself and her office.

We urge, then, the propriety of the proposed amendment; and that our petition be granted, we shall ever pray.

Signed by both ladies and gentlemen.

FREEDMEN IN MISSISSIPPI TO BE DISARMED.—Mr. Hawkins, in the Mississippi Legislature, has offered the following preamble and resolution, which were referred to the joint select Committee on freedmen, to wit:

Whereas, There being at this time in the possession of freedmen not in the employ of the United States a large amount of firearms of every description, and the fact that they are known to be purchasing considerable and unusual quantities of ammunition, and are making other demonstrations of a dangerous character to the well-being of the citizens of the State; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Military Committee of the Senate be instructed to inquire into the expediency of the Legislature taking proper steps at an early day to cause such freedmen of the State to be disarmed, and also to prevent in future the use of arms and ammunition to that class of our population, and to report by bill or otherwise.

The same Legislature has a bill before it authorizing the tying up by the thumbs of vagrants, and severely whipping and otherwise punishing them. As few white persons are ever *vagrant* in the South, it is easy to see how far such legislation as this will go towards the rehabilitation of slavery in everything but its name.

AN ODD SCENE IN THE MISSISSIPPI LEGISLATURE.—The Jackson correspondent of the Cincinnati *Gazette* gives the following glimpse into the prejudices of the men who are now endeavoring to restore Mississippi to her place in the Union:

"A terrible firebrand was thrown into the lower House a few days since in the shape of a colored soldier, with his bayonet, to guard a criminal, who wished to see one of the members. The soldier stood at a parade rest inside the door, back under the gallery, where he remained quietly, until the prisoner had finished his business, when both stepped noiselessly outside the hall. Immediately some half-dozen members are on their feet, one crying in the most agonizing tones, 'We have been insulted!' another, 'It was intended!' while another was for 'Preserving the diguity of this House.' Explanation by the unfortunate recipient of the aforesaid prisoner's visit, to the effect that the soldier was there 'in the simple performance of his duty, and by the request of the prisoner himself,' was of no avail. The Speaker declared upon his word of honor, and by the high position he occupied, that 'This House shall not again suffer such an indignity, *particularly from a United States soldier.*'"

CALAMITOUS AND MELANCHOLY.—New York was profoundly stirred on Wednesday morning by the announcement of the burning of St. George's Church, Rev. Dr. Tyng's, and the death, by suicide, of Hon. Preston King, Collector for this port. The loss of the church is estimated at two hundred thousand dollars. The papers say "the pastor was completely unmanned by the event, declaring that the labor of his life was lost." But there are those who hope and believe the Doctor has been doing sublimer work than rearing temples, however gorgeous, made with human hands.

Mr. King was about sixty years of age, a bachelor, and occupied rooms at the Astor House.

INDIANA.—The Legislature met on Tuesday last. Gov. Morton recommends the repeal of the law prohibiting colored testimony in the courts, but asks separate schools for colored children, and approves the President's policy of reconstruction without negro suffrage.

In her Constitution as amended in 1851, Indiana already prohibits negroes or mulattoes from coming into the State, and makes null and void all contracts with them, and fines not less than ten dollars, nor more than five hundred dollars, any person who shall employ, or otherwise encourage any negro or mulatto to come into or remain in the State.

COLORED SUFFRAGE IN WISCONSIN.—The majority against colored suffrage in Wisconsin is said to be between six and seven thousand, not far from the late vote in Connecticut on the same question. Senator Doolittle in doing thus at home, has done more than little to defeat the one great measure of justice, safety, and reconstruction at Washington the coming winter. If any other war occurs among us in a few months or years, the South will not be alone responsible.

FREE SPEECH.—Judge Beldin, of Louisiana, has, we are informed, "arrested, indicted, and imprisoned" two officers of the Parish of Terrebonne, "for expressing the opinion that negroes may have the right to vote." Tar and feathers also are already proposed in some of the States as answers to such unreasonable Yankee proposals as that the colored people are to vote, or even to send their children to school. Not many years ago Virginia newspapers gravely asserted and argued that allowing slave children to say *father* and *mother* to their parents, tended to plantation pride and insubordination.

THE Washington *Republican* learns personally from Col. McPherson, Clerk of the House, that he does not for a moment hesitate to declare that his duty is simple and clear, and that he has not the right nor the desire to enroll persons claiming seats from the late insurgent States, but that a law of Congress exists positively prohibiting him entering such names. While a member of the House he assisted in making this law, and he thinks that it is just in its application to him in his present relations to Congress. He will, therefore, leave all members with credentials from the late rebel States to present them to the House through other channels.

WITHIN a couple of days, says a Washington dispatch of Nov. 12 to the Boston *Post*, the President has been in receipt of quite lengthy telegrams from distinguished Radicals who will figure in the next Congress, beseeching him to change his reconstruction policy before the meeting of that body, declaring, at the same time, that it has proven a decided failure. One of these telegrams is from a very prominent source, and is indicative of the Radical programme at the coming session. The President, it is understood, has replied to none of these dispatches.

A couple of English publishers are quarrelling over Artemus Ward. One of them printed one of his books, with numerous suppressions and emendations to suit the taste of the British public, and the other pirated the English edition, with all the alterations, making himself liable for violation of copyright, when he might have used the original American version with entire safety.

A little volume containing some five thousand verses, by Victor Hugo, is now in press. The work is entitled "Chansons des Rues et des Bois," and is divided into two parts, the first headed "Jeunesse," and the second "Sagesse." It is said that the house of Lacroix & Co., of Brussels and Paris, has purchased the right of publication for twelve years for the sum of 40,000 francs, or £1,600.

PERSONAL.

Hon. Jacob Collamer, United States Senator from Vermont, died at his residence, in Woodstock, on the 8th instant.

The Committee of the Harvard Alumni Association have selected Col. T. W. Higginson to prepare the proposed Memorial Biographies of Alumni who have fallen during the war—nearly one hundred in number—and he has accepted the trust.

Hon. George G. Fogg arrived in this city last evening, says the Concord (N. H.) *Monitor,* after nearly four and a half years' residence in Switzerland, where he discharged the duties of Minister in a highly acceptable manner, and rendered himself exceedingly popular with the travelling public abroad.

Garibaldi's last published letter is more than usually brief and to the point. It is addressed to a friend in Milan who asked his support for certain candidates, is dated at Caprera, and is as follows:

"I do not and will not take part in the elections. The Italian people are no longer under age. Let them choose. And woe to them, and sorrow to us, if they choose ill.

G. GARIBALDI."

The late Dr. John Green of Worcester left the Green Library a legacy of $30,000. One quarter of the income from this fund is to be added annually to the principal, the remainder to be expended for books and improvements. Other reversionary legacies and the increase of the original legacy will eventually swell the gift to $100,000; after which, three-fourths of the income is to be applied to the circulating department of the library. The bequest is so made as to relieve the city from all expense relative to the library. His whole estate was valued at $175,000, the greater part of which will go to his relatives.

The Hon. Lewis E. Parsons, now Provisional Governor of Alabama, was in 1863 a member of the rebel House of Representatives of that State, and as such introduced, August 18, the following resolution:

"*Be it resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Alabama, in general assembly convened,* That our confidence in the patriotism and ability of President Davis is unabated; and that the vicissitudes of WAR and the reverses of BATTLE cannot shake it; and we hereby tender to him our hearty thanks for his good labors in the cause of our common country, together with the assurance of our continued candid support to the extent of our resources. May God prolong his life and give him strength to meet the demands of the present and future."

That same Parsons is now on a tour through the North, chaperoned by the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, and begging for help to feed the people of Alabama.

The London *Economist* has the following anecdote of Lord Palmerston: It was from the actual knowledge of men—from close specific contact—that Lord Palmerston derived his data. We have heard grave men say with surprise, 'He always had an anecdote to cap his argument." He begins, "I knew a man once," and the anecdotes had no trace of the garrulity of age; they were real illustrations of the matter in hand. No man was better in action, but no man was more free from pedantry in business. People, he has been heard to say, have different minds. "When I was a young man, the Duke of Wellington made an appointment with me at half-past seven in the morning, and some one asked me, 'Why, Palmerston, how will you keep that engagement?' 'Oh,' I said, 'of course, the easiest thing in the world. I shall keep it the last thing before I go to bed.'"

The death of Dr. Charles Richardson, the learned lexicographer, is announced. The deceased, who expired on the 6th Oct., was the author of "A new Dictionary of the English Language," and other philological works. He was born in July, 1775, and was therefore, at the time of his decease, ninety years of age. Bred to the law, he quitted it in early life for literary pursuits. His first production was "Illustrations of English Philology," 1805. Besides the great Dictionary, which will for ever bear testimony to its author's learning and industry, Dr. Richardson gave several smaller philological works to the world. The greater part of his "Dictionary," which, in authorities for the application of words is the most copious work of its class in the English language, and which is held in high esteem in America as well as England, was originally published in the "Encyclopædia Metropolitana." The deceased author was a frequent contributor to *Notes and Queries* and the *Gentleman's Magazine.*

Mr. L. H. Baker furnishes to the Manchester (Eng.) *Examiner* the following letter of Wendell Phillips:

BOSTON, MASS., U. S. A., Sept. 25, 1865.

DEAR SIR,—The Manchester *Examiner and Times* shows me how kindly you have watched over my good name, and seen justice done me in the matter of alleged arguing for repudiation. Accept my thanks. I judge you see our American papers. If so, you will observe that our best guides—both journals and public functionaries—are now directing the public attention to the very point, my arguing which, during the last year or two, has got me so much censure—I mean the point that national credit in pecuniary matters is one and the same question with justice to the negro. Let him vote, our public debts, State and National, will be paid. Shut him out from the franchise, and give back the unconverted Southern white race their old power, and there's great danger we shall repudiate. I mail with this the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, Sept. 23. Please notice Thaddeus Stevens's speech, on this point. Of course you will see Sumner's speech, and will have remarked Chief-Justice Chase's observations. Our journals are just printing an excellent letter of your noble Stuart Mill, which covers the whole ground. I hope we shall be wise in time, but I do not expect that we shall. I fear that Johnson will deliver us, bound hand and foot, into the hands of the old tyrant white race of the South.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

We find in the Springfield *Republican*—one of those conservative papers which Mr. Beecher might have expected to conciliate by his late desertion—the following sharp letter:

EASTHAMPTON, Mass., Nov. 4, 1865.

To the Editor of The Republican:

Can you inform your readers of the special services for which Lieut. Beecher of the Regular Artillery has been breveted Lieutenant Colonel? The same issue of your journal that gave his promotion announced the promotion of three Massachusetts generals of volunteers to be majors by brevet in the regular army. Has young Mr. Beecher performed services more meritorious than those of Gen. Tyler or Gen. Mower? Is there any smell of patronage or bribery about this unexampled promotion of a very young and very insignificant officer over the heads of men who commanded divisions in the armies of Grant and Sherman?

Mr. Beecher served a short time with the Potomac army in a regular battery. I challenge contradi

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, November 13, 1865.

I HAVE heretofore told you of the movements made here resulting in the formation of two societies, "The American Association for the Promotion of Social Science," and "The Boston Social Science Association." The first meeting of the latter since its organization was held last week in the beautiful Hall belonging to the Messrs. Chickering, commonly used for musical purposes, but freely given by its proprietors for the above-named meeting. An invitation to the public to attend, with an announcement of the subject proposed for discussion, namely, the Reformation of Juvenile Offenders, and the names of the expected speakers, was given in the papers, and an audience respectable in numbers and admirable in quality came together.

The first speaker was the Rev. Dr. Blagden, of the Old South Church. Who had invited this old defender of slavery, or who expected any good impulse from him, or any movement other than that made by his accustomed machinery in its accustomed ruts, I know not; but his speech exactly agreed with my anticipations. The Churches of Christ, he said—meaning by this phrase just such churches as have in former years thrown so much obstruction in the way of the abolition of slavery—are the best agents of reform; and his counsel to the Association was that they should do whatever was to be done for the class of children in question "in connection with the Church and the Sabbath School."

The meeting was next addressed by Judge Wright, of the Police Court, a gentleman whose extensive dealing with the youthful offenders in question has neither impaired his sensibility, hardened his heart, nor destroyed his hope. He most impressively described the class of children with whom he was accustomed, professionally, to come in contact; a class all whose surroundings are vicious; who are led or forced into crime even by their parents, and the other inmates of their wretched homes; and who are sure to go to ruin unless some friendly hand makes the effort to withdraw them. Their number is much larger than is generally supposed. In Boston, in 1862 and 1863, fifteen hundred children in each year between the ages of 7 and 14 were brought before the Police Court. If we consider that each of these is probably in a position to influence and corrupt three or four others, we shall have the fearful result of five or six thousand children practising or contriving petty depredations as their customary business, and constantly tending towards the prison.

The main difficulty is that these children have nothing like what we understand by the word "home." No true fatherly or motherly influence is brought to bear upon them. Their parents, instead of being providers and guardians, often seek their own support out of the crimes of the children, besides giving them nothing but evil examples. The remedy is to provide a home. Let the Commonwealth step in, take these unfortunates from the vicious father and mother, and perform its proper function of guardianship by providing a home for them. This is clearly the duty of the State, to be continued during the minority of the children.

Also, when a child is apprehended for some criminal act, and needs for a time to be held in detention, it is the business of the State to see that he is kept separate from adult criminals, and that he grows no more corrupt while passing through the hands of her officers. The offer of true kindness and sympathy at such a time might produce a favorable crisis in that wretched life, especially if it should be followed up by the child's establishment in a natural New England home, with guardians suited to fulfil the function of father and mother, and with the means of instruction and of useful occupation.

The strength of these children, Judge Wright said, belongs as a treasure to the State, and should not be left to go to waste, far less to ruin. There should be a reform of the laws under which they are now treated. And we are encouraged to attempt such reform by the fact that highly satisfactory results have followed in cases where experimental trials of the method above indicated have been made on a small scale.

Rev. James Freeman Clarke, who spoke next, described the successful working of a small establishment of this sort at West Newton. The results attained there were a rich reward for the labor incurred. New comers easily fell in with the daily routine of this happy family. The training was so judicious that the boys found themselves happier there than ever before, and no restraint was needed, since there was no wish to escape. Mr. Clarke agreed with the previous speaker that the State was bound in duty to take this work in hand. This was the dictate alike of benevolence and self-protection.

Suggestions in a similar strain were made by Rev. Mr. Miner, President of Tufts College, and by Rev. Mr. Ames, Superintendent of the Reform School for Girls at Lancaster. The former said (in reference to Dr. Blagden's desire that this work should be done by church instruments and methods) that a new *life*, and a better life, than the church gave signs of possessing, was the thing most wanted. The true theory of a church requires that its members and officers should not only do this sort of work but anticipate all other men in doing it. But our churches have fallen into routine. They show so little of the right spirit that they *cannot* now do the very work which the Christian character most urgently demands. Prison Chaplains accomplish little. It is sometimes rather the bolts and the officers than any genuine attraction that keep their Sunday audiences before them. The thing needed was to supply a Christian spirit and a friendly and attractive aspect, and more of these than the churches generally cultivate, to those officials of the State who come in contact with juvenile criminals.

A Committee was appointed (of gentlemen admirably qualified for the purpose) to examine further in regard to the condition, classes, and members of vagrant children, and to report statistics, facts, and suggestions at a future meeting. Thus there seems good prospect that our Social Science movement will take hold of the right things, and in the right way.

The continued efforts of Col. King, the Constable of the Commonwealth, for the enforcement of the Sunday laws have given occasion to a clever squib in the *Transcript* upon that subject, imitating the capital negro song "De Year ob Jubilo."

It commences—

"Say, fellers, hab you seen the King,
Wid the muffatash on his face,
Gwine down de street on Sunday mornin'
Wid a sort ob warlike pace?"

And the conclusion to which it comes is—

"De King is goin' to show de folks
Who at de laws do mock,
Dat de world stops movin' on Sunday mornin'
At percisely ten o'clock."

It is said that a portion of the clergy of this city have banded themselves together to create an influence in favor of this enforcement of the Sunday laws. This is natural enough, considering the material value to them (in the way of business) of that theory on which the popular use of Sunday rests. And nobody would object to their advocacy of their own interests in this matter if it were done honestly, and above-board. But their customary method is to use false pretences in regard to it, and they will probably act as unscrupulously in the matter as your "Sabbath Committee" in New York, who "say that which is not" as readily as rum-sellers or lottery managers.

The first gun from the heavy artillery of our Sabbatists was fired last evening, in the shape of a sermon before the "Boston Young Men's Christian Association," by Rev. Dr. A. L. Stone, of Park street Church. He maintained, according to the *Advertiser's* report, "the rights of the Christian Sabbath." Men of this sort constantly make the false pretence that their Sunday Sabbath is a *Christian* institution, founded on the code of Christian law, the New Testament. Without the statement (and the reception by their hearers) of this preliminary false assumption, they could do nothing. And unfortunately their hearers are so much accustomed to take Scripture from them upon trust, that not one in fifty of them knows these two material facts in the case, namely:—that the New Testament makes no claim for the doing or not doing of anything whatever on Sunday, nor for any Sabbatical observance of any day. Moreover, not one in five hundred of them knows this other important fact of ecclesiastical history, that the thing they now call the Sabbath (the clerical assumption of a Divine command to use Sunday as a Sabbath) was manufactured in England less than four hundred years ago, and has no more right to the name "Christian" than any other article invented and created a thousand years after the commencement of the Christian era. When men learn to read the Bible for themselves, without following the movement of the parson's finger over the page, and blindly accepting his suggestions about the meaning, the world will be wiser.

NORTH.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, October 31, 1865.

PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

To the Editor of the Standard:

SIR,—The statements in your last issue—"that the President of the United States refused to lend his name or influence in any way to carry Pennsylvania for the Republicans" and "that he is now pursuing the same course in regard to New York," are verified by the fact that the New York employees in the Departments here, who are particularly prominent for their Democratic tendencies, are given long furloughs, and are being sent to their respective homes not only to vote for, but to manipulate their friends in behalf of the Democratic candidates. The Heads of Bureaus not in sympathy with this course of action—and they are but few—are compelled to acquiesce in this ruling, and not kick against *the policy*, or off go their heads, and their places are filled with more elastic material.

SOUTHERN APPOINTEES.

It is not difficult to comprehend the complete *Tylerism* of the Administration, when one visits the different Departments here, and observes the class of men who are selected to fill the U. S. offices in the South. With a very few exceptions—and these are being removed as fast as possible—the appointees are chosen from the ranks of those who have been most prominent in advancing the Rebellion, and upon the recommendation of the newly created Provisional Governors, *et id genus*—whilst unconditional Union men, whose antecedents are thoroughly and radically loyal, and in many cases who have fought secession, to the confiscation of all their property, the breaking up of their families and the sacrifice of all that endeared them to their homes are given the cold shoulder, and informed that their record and principles are not congenial to the reconstructionists of their respective States,—*ergo*, are distasteful to the Administration. Thus is treason punished, and loyalty rewarded. Thus are the *true men* of the South disposed of—as the parties in power think—and their places filled with traitors whose hands are yet dripping with the blood of this unholy rebellion, and whose hearts are as malignantly treasonable as when they drew the sword to overthrow the Government that they now so deceitfully and glibly swear to support. Thus proceeding from the Executive Chair, is the *sifting* carried on, until every vestige of loyalty is extirpated from the governmental patronage in the South, and the reins given into the hands of those whose only record is that they have served in the Confederate army, or have antecedents entirely and thoroughly proslavery.

THE WEEDING OF THE POLITICAL GARDEN,

as it is termed, by one of the members of the Cabinet, has also commenced at the North. Pennsylvania gets the first plucking, in the removal of Folsom, Pension Agent at Philadelphia—a Radical of the Kelley stripe, and endorsed by all the representative Republicans of his State. Green, the editor of an obscure Sunday paper in Philadelphia, is substituted—a man who opposed President Lincoln and his administration, and who has done all in his power during the war to aid the rebellion, and whose only recommendation is that his was the only paper in the city that on the 4th of March last attempted to excuse the disgraceful scene of the Inauguration ceremonies. Such is his reward. Other States are already marked and the weeding is to be thorough and sure until the Administration becomes a unit in its policy. Possibly the weeding may be carried to such an extent as to exhaust the soil and the foundation of the public garden, and bring to the earth the proud fungus that now claims to be monarch of the public forest.

THE ADMISSION OF THE SOUTHERN REPRESENTATIVES.

From the present indications here at the Capital and from the lack of back-bone in such men as Beecher, Wilson, *et als.*, I believe that the President will have but little difficulty in forcing his Reconstruction policy *through* Congress, and in securing the admission of the Southern members. When men who have for so many years filled the glorious position of Radical leaders, fall at the first fire of the Executive gun and tumble clear down from grace, what can be expected of the lesser lights, whose principal antecedents have been the dancing around the Executive table, and the greedy absorption of all the crumbs that fall therefrom? Can we expect to find true nobility of character in this class when Morton, Doolittle, Trumbull, and a score of others that I might name, fail so transcendently to possess the same, and fall so ignominiously below the standard they have hitherto maintained? Thank God we have a Phillips—a Sumner—a Howard—a Wade—a Brown, and other noble exponents of universal liberty; for within their souls lie the glorious possibilities of success in the future. Their names and deeds shine out in greater glory from amidst the infamy of their Tylerized surroundings; but they cannot stem the torrent of destruction that is pouring down upon us, or avert the doom which like a funeral pall is suspended over the country. They cannot force back the demon of treason which, under the guise of State Rights and a Constitutional Union, has already crept into the Executive Chamber, and is now defiantly stalking up to the Legislative Hall. The fiend has even now his bloody hand upon the throat of struggling Columbia, and is choking her back into the quiescent state of the palmy days of slave oligarchies and treason-breeding chivalry.

Not a would-be Senator or Representative that comes from these fruitlessly conquered provinces, but is elected upon the open and expressed platform of *compensation for the emancipation of the slaves* and the *sub rosa* pledge of the assumption of the Confederate debt by the United States Government. And when admitted, possessing a clear majority, which they will have, what can prevent the consummation of this plan? And when realized which it will be, what will prevent the *repudiation* (ah! it is a terrible word, but a true one) of the entire liabilities of the Government, by *the people* both North and South? Why, the writer of this met but a few months ago one of the members of the South Carolina delegation who had Perry appointed Provisional Governor of that State, in a room at Willard's Hotel in this city, and in the presence of a number of Republican members of Congress, saw this infamous traitor shake a package of Confederate bonds (amounting to a large sum) in the faces of these Congressmen, and heard him say that, "By God! ere another year rolled round the United States Government would pay him dollar for dollar for his Confederate investment." And this immediately after their interview with President Johnson and the appointment of Perry as Provisional Governor of their State. And infamous as is this programme, it is not as horrible as the contemplated disbandment of negro troops, the arming of Southern militia, and a forced condition of apprenticeship for the freedmen, far worse than the old system of slavery. Think you, this is all to be submitted to quietly by the *truly loyal* North and South? No! the avenging spirit of Reform, in the permission of the partial realization of this accursed programme, is but taking a backward step in the path of Progress, so that he may gather all his huge forces for the next spring, for the giant stride that is coming, for the onward movement which in its magnificent course shall sweep forever into oblivion all Treason, all Tyranny, all Injustice, let them emanate from Executive, Legislative, Judicial or whatever source they may.

VERITAS.

BEQUESTS TO COLORED PEOPLE.—The Hartford (Ct.) *Courant* has the following:

"The will of Mrs. Huldah Bunce, who died recently in this city, has been admitted to probate. Her principal bequests are to colored people and the Talcott Street (colored) Church. The contents of the will are substantially as follows: She bequeathes to Henry Nott, a colored man, the sum of twenty-five hundred dollars, 'together with such money as I may have in the Savings Bank of Hartford, and also the furniture of my sleeping room,' and other furniture which is designated. She gives to Peter Nott, son of Henry, eight hundred dollars; and to James, his brother, three hundred dollars: 'Item; I give and bequeath to the Hartford Hospital my large mahogany sofa and my large calico-colored easy chair, together with twelve flag-seated imitation rosewood chairs.' She gives two thousand dollars to 'the Colored African Society located in Talcott st.,' and one thousand dollars to 'the Widow's Society of Hartford,' of which Mrs. Normand Smith is President. Further, she bequeaths to Andrew Mitchell, a colored man, and his wife, three hundred dollars; to Thomas H. Bennington, 'so-called,' a colored boy, three hundred dollars; to American Home Missionary Society, one thousand dollars; and any residue of the estate goes to the colored society above-named' (Talcott Street), which will amount probably to ten or twelve thousand dollars.

"In a codicil, dated May, 1863, she gives to Peter Nott fifteen hundred dollars instead of eight hundred dollars; and to Henry Nott five hundred dollars instead of three hundred dollars. In another codicil, dated August 24, 1864, she bequeathes to Statira Freeman, a 'colored woman now in my service,' two hundred dollars. About twenty thousand dollars will be realized from the estate."

THE SOUTH AND THE NEGROES.

GEORGIA.

THE CONVENTION AND ITS SPIRIT.

THE correspondent of the Boston *Advertiser* writes from Milledgeville, Oct. 31:

The Convention attracts more public notice than did those at Columbia and Raleigh—the lobby representation in the war-debt interest being larger than in either of the Carolina conventions, and the excitement of the debates furnishing a grateful relief to the monotony of the city's dull life. The daily attendance averages about a hundred persons—one fourth of them, perhaps, being ladies.

"I'll be d—d if I vote for any man who did n't go with the State," said one of the delegates while the canvass for officers was going on—in accordance with which spirit the secretary is a gentleman who was a colonel in the rebel army, and the door-keeper a gentleman who lost an arm in the service.

The matter of asking pardon for Jeff Davis excited a warm debate of an hour. One of the Savannah delegates moved a committee to memorialize the President in favor of Davis, Stephens, Seddon, McGrath, Yulee, and others—the ostensible opposition to which was that the business did not come within the scope of the convention, but the real ground of which was hostility to Davis. "D—n him, he deserves hanging," said one of the delegates to me, "but not by your Government; we ought to hang him for ruining our cause." And so there were 95 yeas to 148 nays for laying the resolution on the table. This failing, the debate began. Part of it was of general interest only so far as it indicated some bitterness of feeling between those who originally favored and those who originally opposed the war. But, otherwise it showed that the expectations of these people are not likely to fail of their accomplishment through excessive modesty. "I believe everybody will be pardoned," said Mr. Dupree. "*In order that we may all love the old flag again, it is necessary that no more blood be spilled.*" "I believe there will be a general amnesty, soon," said Mr. Hopkins, who is a candidate for Congress in the First District; "*if we apply for his pardon, history will say we knew our leader was guilty of treason;* I want him tried, so that we may see if it will be decided that a State has no right to secede; if I were he I would demand a trial, and if found guilty of treason would meet my fate like a man." "These men are unjustly suffering for service in a cause which we all believed right," passionately exclaimed Matthews, the delegate from Oglethorpe, and thereby got hearty applause from the floor and from the gallery; "they are no more representative men of the confederacy, but they represent the cause for which we battled; *we have been pardoned, and have resumed all our rights as citizens of the United States, and I declare that I will not be deterred from asking pardon for these unfortunate gentlemen now languishing in prison!*"—and thereby got for himself more hearty applause. After the defeat of a motion for indefinite postponement, the resolution was amended so as to include all prisoners, and adopted without division. Two days later the committee appointed under it reported the memorial, which was brief and not particularly objectionable, considering the spirit of the convention, and it was adopted without debate.

There is an excited state of feeling on the subject of Congressional representation, in which all classes of men in the convention share. "We must have our representatives at Washington on the opening day," says Matthews of Oglethorpe; "and *I believe the Administration will sustain us against the Radicals and fanatics of the North in our effort to get into Congress.*" There was a good deal of remark to this effect; but another set of men found voice through a delegate named Kenan, who was in the first rebel Congress. "I would not be in such haste," said he "but would take time for due consideration; and when we have elected our best men let them go there in a dignified manner—*not to ask favors of any party, but to demand their rights.*" However, there was still another class which found voice in what was said by Mr. Wright, of Coweta—"*We are living under a military despotism which can't be endured;* let us get our rights first, and attend to our dignities afterward," Joshua Hill, who appears to be anxious to get a seat in the United States Senate, thought there was great need that the delegation should be present at the opening of the session in order to help elect the speaker—believing that "*there never will be so good a time to get the test oath repealed as then, when everbody is anxious for office and of course for votes.*" The State has been divided into seven Congressional districts, and the election is set for the 15th of November.

THE PRESIDENT TO NORTH CAROLINA.

The President received a delegation of North Carolinians last week. Its spokesman, Mr. Reade, said, We have heard that notwithstanding the State might yield, and, as he understands, has yielded all that was involved in the war; and notwithstanding our people were submissive and well disposed, and anxious for fraternal relations, her delegation in Congress would not be admitted unless they had qualifications not prescribed by the Constitution; that they would be required to take an oath which few men in the state can take, affirming not merely that they are right, but that they never have been wrong. The exclusion of her delegation upon any such test as suggested, would be felt by our people universally as such a deep wrong, that it would put their strong devotion to the Government, and their lively hope of perfect reconciliation, to the severest trial. They can understand the bitterness of strife and the aversion to treason, but they will be confounded at the repulsion of offered friendship and avowed loyalty. The Convention, therefore, asks Congress to repeal the test oath. I have thought it respectful to both you and to Congress, that this request should pass through your hands, with the hope that your Excellency's magnanimity would add to it some reflection which would avail with that body.

After further remarks by Mr. Reade, in which he spoke of the confidence reposed in him by North Carolina, the President responded as follows:

HON. MR. READE: I receive from you, with pleasure, a copy of the proceedings of the Convention of North Carolina. I reciprocate cordially the conciliatory spirit in which you have addressed me. The Convention of North Carolina has done much and well toward restoring that State to her proper national relations, but something yet remains to be done to render that restoration immediately practicable. An acceptance of the Congressional Amendment abolishing slavery throughout the United States, by the Legislature of the State of North Carolina, is, in my judgment, practically important to the successful restoration which is so much desired by all. Without answering specifically the questions you have proposed to me, it will be sufficient to say that my action must depend upon events, and that Mr. Holden will be again instructed to continue the exercise of his functions as Provisional Governor until he shall have been expressly relieved by orders to that effect. The following is a copy of the telegram addressed to His Excellency B. F. Perry, Provisional Governor of South Carolina:

"Your telegram of the 4th inst. is just now received. While much has been done in South Carolina that is conducive to peace and restoration, the President still thinks it is impossible to anticipate events. He expects, therefore, that you will continue to exercise the duties heretofore devolved upon you as Provisional Governor of South Carolina, until you shall be relieved by his order. He observes with regret that neither the Convention nor the State Legislature has pronounced the debts and obligations contracted in the name of the State, for unconstitutional and even rebellious purposes, to be void. He equally regrets that the State seems to decline the Congressional Amendment of the Constitution of the United States abolishing slavery. I telegraphed to you yesterday as follows: 'The President directs me to write you that an early adoption of the Congressional Amendment of the Constitution of the United States abolishing slavery, by the South Carolina Legislature, is deemed peculiarly important, and especially desirable with reference to the general situation of the Union. I have now only to say, the President's opinions before expressed remain unchanged.'

"(Signed) W. H. SEWARD."

SOUTH CAROLINA.

IMPORTANT MESSAGE FROM THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNOR.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
STATE OF SOUTH CAROLINA, Nov. 7, 1865.

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives:

GENTLEMEN: I had the honor of receiving from the President of the United States the following telegraphic dispatch on the 28th October last:

"*To B. F. Perry, Provisional Governor:*

"Your last two dispatches have been received and the pardons suggested have been ordered.

"I hope that your Legislature will have no hesitation in adopting the amendment to the Constitution of the United States abolishing slavery. It will set an example which will no doubt be followed by the other States, and place South Carolina in a most favorable attitude before the nation. I trust in God that it will be done. The nation and State will then be left free and untrammelled to take that course which sound policy, wisdom, and humanity may suggest. (Signed) "ANDREW JOHNSON,

"President of the United States."

Three days afterward I received the following telegram from the President dated

"WASHINGTON, October 31.

"*To Benjamin F. Perry, Provisional Governor:*

"There is a deep interest felt as to what course the Legislature will take in regard to the adoption of the Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, abolishing slavery, and the assumption of debt created to aid in the rebellion against the Government of the United States. If the action of the convention was in good faith, why hesitate in making it a part of the Constitution of the United States? I trust in God that the restoration of the Union will not be defeated and all that has so far been well done thrown away. I still have faith that all will come out right yet. This opportunity ought to be understood and appreciated by the people of the Southern States. If I know my own heart, and every passion which enters it, it is my desire to restore the blessings of the Union, and tie up and heal every bleeding wound which has been caused by this fratricidal war. Let us be guided by love and wisdom from on high, and union and peace will once more reign throughout the land."

(Signed) "ANDREW JOHNSON."

To these telegraphic dispatches I replied that the war debt of South Carolina was very inconsiderable; that our whole State debt at this time was only about six millions of dollars; that this was mostly incurred anterior to the war in constructing railroads, and building a new State House, with an old debt of long standing. That we had assumed no portion of the confederate debt, and were responsible in no way for it. The expenditures which the State had incurred up to a certain period had all been settled and refunded by the Confederate States.

"I stated that South Carolina had abolished slavery in good faith, and never intended or wished to renew it. That the Legislature was then considering a wise, just, and humane system of laws for the government and protection of the freedmen in all their rights of person and property, [of which see some account below, from the *Tribune*,] and that there was *no objection to the adoption of the proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution, except an apprehension that Congress might, under the second section of that amendment, claim the right to legislate for the negro after slavery was abolished.* I likewise stated that no official notice had ever been received by the Legislature of the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

In reply to this dispatch, I received yesterday the following telegram from the Secretary of State, dated

"WASHINGTON, Nov. 6.

To His Excellency, B. F. Perry, Provisional Governor:

"Your dispatch to the President of November 4 has been received. He is not entirely satisfied with the explanation it contains. He deems necessary the passage of adequate ordinances, declaring all insurrectionary proceedings in the State unlawful and void *ad initio.*

"Neither the Constitution nor laws direct official information to the States of amendments to the Constitution submitted by Congress. Notice of the amendment by Congress abolishing slavery was, nevertheless, sent by the Secretary of State, at the time, to the States which were then in communication with the Government. Formal notice will immediately be given to those States which were then in insurrection.

"The objection which you mention to the last clause of the Constitutional Amendment is regarded as querulous and unreasonable, because *that clause is really restraining in its effects, instead of enlarging the power of Congress.*

"The President considers the acceptance of the amendment by South Carolina as indispensable to a restoration of her relations with the other States of the Union.

(Signed) "WM. H. SEWARD."

This formal notice of the proposed amendment to the Constitution of the United States has not yet been received. When it is I will communicate the same to you. The amendment may be seen in the acts of the last Congress, and is in these words:

"Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction. Sec. 2. *Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.*"

(Approved February 1, 1865.)

A few days since, I addressed a communication to Mr. Seward, Secretary of State, by mail, in which I repeated and enlarged on the views, previously expressed to the President, in reference to the objections which were entertained in South Carolina to the proposed Constitutional Amendment. I am happy to find that the Secretary of State does not regard those objections as well founded, but considers them "querulous and unreasonable." It is true that a plain, honest construction of the language of the amendment would be that slavery was abolished in the United States, and that Congress should simply enforce it. When this was done their legislation would be ended. They could not attempt, under the authority given by this amendment, to pass laws for the government of the "freedmen" in their free state. The Attorney-General of the United States, and the President, have both been understood as concurring in this opinion. It would therefore be well, in adopting the proposed amendment, to place on record the construction which had been given to it by the executive department of the Federal Government.

It is manifest from the earnest, eloquent, and patriotic terms in which the President has urged the adoption of this amendment, that he regards, as he says, "all that South Carolina has done, and well done, as thrown away," unless the amendment is adopted by the Legislature.

The Secretary of State is still more explicit in his language. He says: "The President considers the acceptance of the Amendment by South Carolina as indispensable to a restoration of her relations with the other States of the Union." The reason why this exaction is made of the Southern States, after they have abolished slavery, is that they might, otherwise, at some future day, change their constitutions, and restore slavery in defiance of the Federal Government. You, gentlemen, have at this time the destiny of the State in your hands, and I feel assured that you will act calmly and dispassionately with a view to the peace, happiness, and well-being of South Carolina.

I addressed a communication to the Secretary of the Treasury at Washington, a few days since, urging that in case the Legislature should assume the payment of that portion of the direct tax for which South Carolina is liable, that the Federal Government should receive her bonds for the same, or suspend the collection of the tax for the present year. I would advise the immediate assumption by the State of her portion of the direct tax, which is about $366,000. This will relieve the people from the immediate payment of it to the Federal tax collectors, and enable the State to make some arrangement in reference to it with the Treasury Department, or Congress.

In my communication to the Secretary of State, I urged the propriety of withdrawing the colored troops from the interior of the State to the forts on the sea coast, and requested that white troops might, for the present, be retained in Charleston, Georgia, and Beaufort.

I have forwarded the resolution you sent me the other day, in reference to the school-houses in Charleston, to Gen. Howard, and asked that they might be restored to the proper authorities. I made the same request in regard to the Military Hall in Charleston.

(Signed) B. F. PERRY.

This message was, on motion, referred to appropriate committees.

AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION.

COLUMBIA, S. C., November 13.

The Constitutional Amendment abolishing slavery passed both houses of the South Carolina Legislature to-day with but little opposition. The Legislature has adjourned to the 25th inst.

The *Tribune* collects as follows some of the main features of the new Slave Code of South Carolina:

SOUTH CAROLINA RE-ESTABLISHING SLAVERY.

We have received a copy of the new Slave Code of South Carolina. A Commission was appointed at the request of the late Convention, by the Provisional Governor, to prepare a code for the regulation of labor and the protection and government of the colored population of the State. It is their report which lies before us and which is introduced, we are informed, into the Legislature as a Bill, shortly to become a Law. Messrs. D. L. Wardlaw and Armistead Burt compose the Commission and put their names to the report. We do not doubt they have done the work they were expected and desired to do, and that their code is such a one as will in substance be enacted into statutes by the Legislature. It is of a character to suit the Southern temper, but as it is not in all respects of a character to suit the Northern temper, we must admonish Messrs. Wardlaw and Burt and their master, Mr. Perry, that the publication of it before South Carolina is altogether reconstructed, seems a little premature. The strongest argument against reorganization with no other guarantee for the future than the Constitutional Amendment, is that the freedom secured by it is only nominal. This code supplies abundant illustrations of the perils still impending over both the negro and the Union, under State Governments which shall be at liberty to disregard everything but the technical requirements of the amended Constitution. Nor does South Carolina mean to respect even those technical obligations. The Amendment enacts that there shall be no involuntary servitude except for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted. The code imposes at least three distinct forms of Slavery in direct violation of the amendment, and in substantial conformity with the old law of the State.

It is enacted that a husband who abandons his wife, or fails to maintain his wife and children, shall be bound to service by the District Judge from year to year, and the profits of his service applied to their maintenance. What "bound to service" means will appear shortly. In the second place comes the apprenticeship system, with this very remarkable and sweeping provision, viz:

"Colored children between the ages mentioned (2 and 21), who have neither father nor mother *living in the District in which they are found*, or whose parents are paupers, or unable to afford them a comfortable maintenance, *or whose parents are not teaching them habits of industry and honesty*, or are persons of notoriously bad character, or are vagrants, or have been convicted of infamous offences, and colored children *in all cases where they are in danger of moral contamination*, may be bound as apprentices by the District Judge or one of the magistrates for the aforesaid term."

Under that section there is no colored minor in the State who is safe for one moment from the compulsory apprenticeship—itself only a form of Slavery, and in this code surrounded with almost every incident of Slavery.

The third means by which the same end is reached is through a vagrant act. A long list is given in that act of persons who shall be deemed vagrants in law, including all persons who have not some fixed and known place of abode and some "lawful" and reputable employment; all peddlers without license; all disorderly persons; all "suspicious" persons, and many other descriptions. As in the case of apprenticeship, the language of the statute is designedly broad enough and loose enough to include almost every colored person in the State. Who shall say that in the eye of South Carolina law any black man is not "suspicious?" Being suspicious, he may be arrested, tried by two white judges, sentenced to hard labor, and hired by the magistrate to any owner or lessee of a farm, or sent to hard labor on streets, public roads, or public buildings.

Here we have, then, three modes at last by which the law imposes unremunerated compulsory labor on black men whom the Constitution of the United States emancipates. For every one of these cases the most significant symbol of slavery and its most degrading instrument is authorized to be employed. South Carolina does not believe in a slavery without the lash; so she provides that the apprentice and the laborer bound to service by his own contract, and the vagrant or other offender bound to service against his own will may be whipped. In the case of the apprentice the law gives the master authority "to inflict moderate (!) chastisement, and impose reasonable restraint, and to recapture him if he depart from his service." In the case of a free laborer, who makes his own contract, the provision is as follows:

"For any acts or things herein declared to be cause for the discharge of a servant, *or for any breach of contract or duty by him*, instead of discharging the servant, the master may complain to the District Judge or any of the Magistrates, who shall have power on being satisfied of the misconduct complained of to inflict on the servant such corporeal punishment as is lawful in the army or navy of the United States."

That is a very adroit way of putting it; but it is impossible to disguise the fact that the law means to hold the lash over the free negro as a means not for the punishment of crime but for enforcing a contract. Being thus legalized, being put in the hands of the master himself in the case of an apprentice and in other cases in the hands of the Magistrate sure to be the friend and neighbor of the master, there will practically be no more limitation of punishment under the new Slave Code than before the war under the old Slave Code.

So much appears upon the first glance at this code. It covers, however, thirty-six closely printed pages, and embraces many more provisions than we can collect or refer to in a single column. Such extracts as are made above suffice to show its spirit and purpose. They will suffice also, we trust, to give the North some hint of the sort of reconstruction likely to take place by the admission of States clinging thus desperately to old institutions.

NEGRO SUFFRAGE.

"Endangered States may yield to terms unjust,
Stoop their proud heads, but not unto the dust.
Happy occasions are oft by sad mischance
Forfeited; but infamy doth kill!"

—*Wordsworth.*

I BEG to trespass upon the columns of your valuable paper to consider some suggestions quite discouraging, if not unpatriotic, which are making their way into the public spirit, concerning the greatest moral issue of the nineteenth century. I refer to the erroneous ideas held out by the reactionary party to impress upon the masses that the agitation kept up by the Radicals has no other aim than to impose upon the late rebellious States terms of peace and reconstruction totally in opposition to the spirit and letter of the Constitution. The Radicals want a Constitutional Amendment purporting that, NO STATE SHALL MAKE ANY DISTINCTION IN CIVIL RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES AMONG THE NATURALIZED CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES, RESIDING WITHIN ITS LIMITS, OR AMONG PERSONS BORN ON ITS SOIL OF PARENTS PERMANENTLY RESIDENT THERE, ON ACCOUNT OF RACE, COLOR, OR DESCENT.

The Radical party, by standing on this broad platform, do not mean to light the fires of sectional animosities, but merely to stand sternly and uncompromisingly by the cause of justice and humanity. They do not ask mercy or privilege for the negro; they ask justice for the *man*. They do not look at the question of negro suffrage as a matter of gratitude and reward toward the *negro soldier*, but as a debt of justice and reparation, of which the American people is morally bound to acquit itself towards the negro citizen, in order to escape the scorn and contempt of the civilized world.

The worn-out argument of the unfitness of the colored race to make a good use of freedom is quite ridiculous. This was one of the many reasons set forth by pro-slavery men against the Abolitionist party. But the people who gave credit to their sophistries, and who used to laugh at and scorn and persecute the unflinching apostles of the new Gospel, concluded, after a thirty years' unremitting task and a bloody civil war, that the Abolitionists were right, and that slavery has to go to its grave. Now they denounce them again because they will not declare themselves satisfied with a *sham-paper*, which, though abolishing in name the hell-bred institution, does not recognize at all the manhood of the former slave.

It is argued against the Radicals that by calling the proposed Constitutional Amendment a *sham-paper*, they proclaim as null and void the wonderful achievements of our armies and the undeniable victory of the anti-slavery party, the acknowledged purpose of which ever was the simple abolition of slavery. But this remark is not exact. The Radicals do not deny the accomplished facts. They maintain, and very justly to our judgment, against the Conservative Abolitionists, *that the mere emancipation of the slaves does not wipe out the foulest stain that rested upon our national escutcheon; they would secure to the colored population of the United States the rights and privileges that belong to them as men and as Americans.* To support Mr. Johnson's or Mr. Seward's policy, or Mr. Beecher's new Christianity, on the ground that the blacks are not quite prepared for the free and full exercise of their natural, inalienable rights, is utterly preposterous. The followers of Calhoun and Jeff. Davis are by no means either prepared for the enjoyment of Democratic institutions; and nevertheless, Mr. Johnson has trusted them with the organization of the late rebellious States. No other reason is given by the European despots to retain the masses of the Old World, stripped of their most sacred rights. And is not the glorious fabric raised by the genius of Washington, Franklin, and Jefferson strong enough to trust its preservation and improvement to the wisdom and patriotism of all its citizens? If it is not so; if, by the national charter, colored persons are compelled to partake of all its charges and of none of its privileges, the so much praised American Union has been miscomprehended. Far from being the freest nation of the world, it merely is a new despotism in disguise.

And we have no better opinion of the foolish objection that the granting at once of civil and political rights to the blacks will produce a war of races. The history of America conclusively denies so extravagant an assertion. In all Spanish America the State makes no distinction whatever in civil rights and privileges on account of race, color, or descent. And the partisans of a distinct policy cannot point out a single fact in their support. While in the darkest days of slavery the negro slaves used, justly and naturally, to revolt against their wanton oppressors, now, under the reign of universal freedom and equality, we see everywhere whites, negroes, and Indians united in peace and war, and aiding to their best to the final triumph of liberal institutions. Colored men have been in Spanish America intrusted several times with the greatest power, and we do not know of any case where the colored race have profited by those electional accidents to revenge old offences upon the whites. In Brazil it is known that color is not an obstacle to public offices and the imperial favor. In Jamaica, Sir Edward Jordan, a colored man, has been a member of the Assembly for the city of Kingston, Mayor of the same city, Premier of the Island, and President of the Privy Council. And the conduct of the black nobleman will justify in no way the assertions of our biased politicians?

When Bolivar was planning in Hayti the overthrow of Spanish despotism in America, who saved him from the miserable and traitorous plots of his white associates? Petion, the President of the Republic, a colored man, who simply asked of the Great Deliverer, in acknowledgment of his valuable services, the enfranchisement of the Spanish negro slaves. And finally, do they want a more brilliant testimony against those barbarous prejudices than the heroism and abnegation of the Dominican patriots in their last struggle against the Spanish filibusters? We could quote numberless facts similar to the above, but these will suffice to prove that the cause of the moral and social evils threatened by the politicians is always to be looked for in slavery and never in the divine and beneficent influence of liberty and justice.

But again. Should the present state of public opinion prevail we adhere to the Radicals' views. The Constitutional Amendment abolishing the name of slavery will be but a sham paper, the enactment of which will merely devolve upon the American people a new, protracted agitation, equal to the former Abolition agitation. To-day the negro slave of the Spanish Colonies is actually invested with more rights and protected by more legal guarantees than the black citizens of the United States. As this policy is unjust and unchristian, as its triumph will be an eternal shame to the American nation, we protest against it and we stand by the Radicals. If the noble principles inculcated by the illustrious martyr of Springfield are to be sacrificed to the barbarous prejudices fostered by slavery, and maintained by its surviving spirit, let us sing no more hymns in honor of our triumphant legions. Wendell Phillips is perfectly right. The South is victorious. If we have conquered it by the sword, we are still the miserable tools of Southern prejudices. And then the abolition of slavery will be recorded by history, not as the moral triumph of the North, but as a war measure imposed upon the National Government to save the Federal ship from total wreck; the military achievements of the Union armies will be registered as a wholesale butchery, as a succession of human hecatombs for the sake of material peace and not for justice and humanity.

But, they say, President Johnson could not adopt the views of the Radicals without violating the Constitution. This is a singular excuse for a man who does not think of the Constitution, when the success of what is styled Mr. Johnson's policy is at stake. If the President is authorized by the Constitution to impose upon the Southern States Military Governors, Freedmen's Bureaus, Courts Martial, the repudiation of the Rebel Debt, and so forth, as a condition *sine qua non* of their re-admission into the Federal Union according to the old national compact, where is the constitutional or moral law which prevents him from imposing upon the refractory States the condition of granting equal rights to the loyal Blacks, who have shed their blood in defence of the national flag?

Mr. Johnson is right when he says that Liberty is not a vagary. But, Mr. Johnson is wrong, when he asserts that

Miscellaneous Department.

FOR THE STANDARD.

SUFFRAGE.

A RHYME FOR THE PEOPLE.

Give a man his *freedom*,
And then withhold his *rights!*
That's a kind of Liberty
That wouldn't do for *Whites.*
"'Tis well enough for *Niggers*,"
The shameless logic reads:
—Now *out* upon such sophistries,
Such anti-human creeds!

Chorus—For 'tis black hand and white hand—
And God made both—
And the hand that holds a *musket*
Is fit to hold a *vote;*
They've helped us conquer Treason,
And take it by the throat;
And the hand that holds a musket
Is fit to hold a vote.

They've poured their blood like water
To save the country's cause;
And yet, they haven't earned the right
To help us make the Laws!
For blows they've brought us blessing;
For scourging and for scars,
They've helped redeem the dear old flag,
The blessed stripes and stars!

Chorus—And 'tis black hand and white hand, etc.

The sweat and toil of ages
Is on their dusky brow—
Oh, brothers! let our hearts be strong
To do them justice now!
'Tis all they ask us—*Justice!*—
The sacred rights of man—
So long withheld!—the tardy chance
To do the best they can!

Chorus—For 'tis black hand and white hand, etc.

Then here's a toast to end with:
THE SUFFRAGE OF THE FREE!
For what were Life or Freedom else,
To him, or you, or me?
So here's a toast to end with,
And give it three times three:
The rights of all men, black and white!
The suffrage of the Free!

Chorus—For 'tis black hand and white hand—
And God made both—
And the hand that holds a musket
Is fit to hold a vote;
They've helped us conquer Treason,
And take it by the throat;
And the hand that holds a musket
Is fit to hold a vote.

C. A. M.

WENDELL PHILLIPS ON THE EIGHT-HOUR QUESTION.

At a recent mass meeting in Faneuil Hall, in Boston, Wendell Phillips said it was 29 years this month since he first stood on the platform of Faneuil Hall, to address an audience of the citizens of Boston. He felt then that he was speaking for the cause of the laboring men, and if to-night he should make the last speech of his life, he would be glad that it should be in the same strain, for laboring men and their rights. Mr. Phillips continued substantially as follows:

The labor of these twenty-nine years has been in behalf of a race bought and sold. The South did not rest their system wholly on this claim to own their laborers; but according to Chancellor Harper, Alexander H. Stephens, Gov. Pickens, and John C. Calhoun, asserted that the laborer must necessarily be owned by capitalists or by individuals. That struggle for the ownership of labor is now somewhat near its end; and we fitly recommence a struggle to define and to arrange the true relations of capital and labor. To-day one of your sons is born. He lies in the cradle as the child of a man without means, with little education, and with less leisure. The favored child of the capitalist is borne up by every circumstance, as on an eagle's wings. The problem of to-day is how to make the chances of the two as equal as possible; and before this movement stops, every child born in America must have an equal chance in life.

In this final arrangement every man will combine in his own person the laborer and the capitalist. There can't be any conflict between labor and capital. What makes our lives easier than those of our ancestors? They are so because six generations of workmen have made Massachusetts a great treasure house of capital. When our fathers landed here, Massachusetts was a wilderness. Forests have been removed, roads built, cities raised by capital, or aggregated labor. Capital and labor are only the two arms of a pair of scissors—useless when separate, and only when fastened together cutting everything before them.

What then do we come here for? To find out the true relation between capital and labor, to make the laborer more comfortable and a more worthy citizen. Where the government rests on the people, its administrators are bound to give time to the laborers to understand the theory of government. When shut up an excessive number of hours in labor, the workman comes out but the fag end of a man, without brain to think of such subjects. Now, therefore, it is a fair division to give him eight hours for labor, eight hours for sleep, and eight hours for his own—his own to use as he pleases. (Applause.) I shan't be the first to say "you shan't have it unless you come under bonds to use it well." It is none of my business to say what he shall do with what is his own. I shan't say to the millionaire, "We will defend you in the possession of your stocks and bonds, if you will use them well." I may argue with him, and shall, to use his wealth properly; but my first object shall be to give it to him because it belongs to him. It has been argued that the negro would not work if his freedom was given to him. I have answered, his freedom belongs him, and he is responsible for its use.

The present effort is to give the laborer more leisure, in order to make him more intelligent. Never in history has more leisure been secured to the working classes, but greater intelligence has resulted therefrom. Thirty millions of Frenchmen to-day hold a voice in the government, because the cry against lessening their labors was not heeded. The same cry has been raised here. It has been said that the workman will not work unless you starve him, that starvation is the only stimulus which the masses will obey. I don't believe it; and I want to lift them to the possibility of showing that it is not true.

Now, how shall this thing be done? I will tell you. I have had a little experience in this matter. (Laughter.) I have never held, and never expect to hold, a political office; but this I know, that the man who only looks at the game can sometimes criticise it better than the players. This country is one of ideas. You can never gain your point by threats. It would be disgraceful to gain it thus. Why have you not carried your ends before? Because in ignorance and division you have let the other side have their own way. We are ruled by brains. You might as well try to roll back Niagara as to try to rule New England against her ideas. You have got to face them and to change them. You need not despair if truth is at your side. You must have the truth, and must work for it. There are three sorts of men: those who have the truth, but lock it up; those who have it not, but work like the devil against it; and those who have it, and force it on the willing conscience of the nation. You want books and journals. I am glad you have one voice, but one can't cover the State or the North. You want something to subjugate all journals, and bring cultivated minds and foremost men to your service. Opinions differ, not from scoundrelism, knavishness, or want of heart. You want to make the intellect of the country discuss the question, to make every man speak of it. How did we anti-slavery men to this? (A VOICE—"Kept at it!") Yes, kept at it. You know the patient Job said, "Oh, tha tmine adversary had written a book!" Well, he was the wise man. (Laughter.) When I made a speech here, the *Daily Advertiser* abused me; but it could not abuse justice so much but that men could see the delusion. I defy a man to make an argument against the laws of God that will hold water. Any man trying to dodge justice will answer himself.

How will you make the newspapers and the public men discuss the labor question? I will tell you. Go into the political field, and by the voice of 40,000 workmen say, "we mean that eight hours shall be a day's work, and no man shall go into office who opposes it." What will be the result? It will be the same as in 1846, when the Abolitionists said they were going to trample on the Whig and Democratic parties. The journals then took up the question; the intellect and education of the country took hold of it, and settled it by balking the South so that they say, "Neck or ruin, we will go outside." How will you make your enemies wield the pen? Do it by announcing your political creed. Break into the debating society at the State House, and make them discuss the labor question. I don't want the subject made political in a bad sense of the word, but in a higher sense. When men have wrongs to complain of they should go to the ballot box and right them. I may be asked if I would give universal suffrage to ignorant men, and thus give them power over the property of the millionaire. I answer yes; all the more for that, because then the millionaire would be willing to give a part of his wealth to aid in making voters intelligent. Universal suffrage is taking a bond of the rich to educate the poor. You will never reach the influential classes by moetings like these. How will you do it? Go to your next candidate for Mayor, and ask him if he is in favor of the eight-hour system. If he says yes, let it be known that he is to have your votes. If no, let him know that he will not have them. You will not perhaps gain the victory the first time. It would be a disgrace if you did. (A VOICE—"Why?") Because it would look as if you had frightened the city of Boston. You will gain your point by argument. The *Journal*, the *Advertiser*, the *Transcript* will discuss it, and the State will be lifted by the four corners. You will gain in twelve months what we gained in twelve years, if you are true to yourselves.

Some may think this a political address. I belong to no political party, and if I live to the age of Methuselah, do not expect a vote. I want Charles Sumner to stand on this platform and give his views on this question; I want Samuel Hooper to come down here and look his constituents in the face; I want Henry Wilson, with his tireless activity, to give his labors to the working men. Abbott Lawrence, in 1840, when asked by a committee of his constituents what his opinion was in regard to slavery in the District of Columbia, said he didn't know as he had any opinion on the subject, and if he had it was not worth while to express it. Twenty years later he would have cut off his hand rather than give such an answer. Two years hence, if you are true to yourselves, instead of having an Ishmaelite like me to address you, you can take your pick out of all the politicians in the country; instead of one journal, you will have all journals discussing the labor question.

You must imitate the tenacity of the Abolitionists in adhering to a single issue. The temperance party committed the folly of depending upon resolutions, and voting for Whigs and Democrats, and influential men, seeing that they did not value their own principles, left them out in the cold. There are men enough here to govern this city. When you have convinced thinking men that it is right, and humane men that it is just, you will gain your cause. Men always lose half of what is gained by violence. What is gained by argument is gained forever. Mass meetings like these amount to nothing. A political movement, saying "We will have our rights," is a mass meeting in perpetual session. Filtered through the ballot-box comes the will of the people, and statesmen bow to it. Go home and say that the working men of Massachusetts are a unit, and that they mean to stereotype their purpose on the statute book.

Mr. Phillips took his seat amid the most deafening applause.

THE VACANT PREMIERSHIP.

From the Spectator.

It will be weeks, it may be months, before the magnitude of the event of Wednesday is fully apprehended by the country. It is not simply Lord Palmerston who has died, but a Ministry which has expired, a cycle of political history which has come to a termination. Lord Palmerston represented, indeed he by himself almost *was* the political interregnum, the period which divided the active past from the yet more active future. Whig by position and Tory by prepossessions, aristocrat in grain yet the favorite of the middle class, distrustful of popular sovereignty yet trusted by the body of the people, he was of all statesmen the one for an interregnum in ideas—the coachman who could best hold the reins in the middle of a "block" which demanded careful driving, but no high speed of progress. His function ends with the man who performed it so well. Even before he died there were signs abroad that the pause in affairs was drawing to a close; and now that he is gone there is no one who could fill his special position, even if the nation desired to see it filled. There is no one on whom his mantle has descended, no one who can rule, and rule satisfactorily, without appealing to the ideas, or exciting hopes, or moving forward, or moving backwards, or doing anything except meet skilfully the home or foreign emergency of the hour, no one for whom Tories will vote, yet whom Liberals are unwilling to displace. The bond between parties was his life, with his life it has fallen through, and once again the old combatants, whose struggles have lasted centuries and their truces years, the advocates of change and the admirers of the past, descend ungloved into the arena. By a strange irony of circumstances peace ends with the life of one who was a man of war from his youth up, and as the figure of the great advocate of peace becomes more visible before the crowd, the struggle begins to recommence. The lull is over, and already all men are arguing eagerly on the fitness of leaders for the coming campaign, arguing all the more bitterly because there exists, to the rage of one side and the gratification of the other, one fixed datum. Speculate as they may and combine as they will, one unalterable fact remains patent to all politicians—the key of the crisis is the position which Mr. Gladstone chooses to take or can be prevailed on to accept. The section of his party which desires him, the section which distrusts him, the section which fears him, each while proposing its own combination admits—angrily, or reluctantly, or wearily, it may be, but still fully—that without Mr. Glad stone a progressive Ministry cannot now be formed.

He ought therefore logically to be the head of the government, which without him could have no existence, and were he a self-seeking statesman he might, in spite of all opposing circumstances, grasp the great prize at once. He has simply to say, as Sir Robert Peel once said, "I will not serve again," and every Ministry which has not him for its head, except Lord Derby's, must collapse, his colleagues must cheerfully or sullenly choose whether they will yield to victory to their rival or their foes. Earl Russell, Lord Granville, the Duke of Somerset, Lord Clarendon, name whom you will—and it is a melancholy sign that no commoner save Mr. Gladstone is so much as named—his one essential condition will still be that Mr. Gladstone shall lead the Lower House. The man whom every competitor says must be second may if he pleases be first, and not to please argues no small magnanimity. The leadership of the House of Commons is often said to be equivalent to the Premiership, but it is not. Lord Palmerston himself declared that custom had created a constitutional distinction, which he defined before a Committee of the House of Commons nearly in these words:—"If the Premier differs with his colleagues they resign, but he does not," and the office carries with it even more than is involved in the exercise of this highest patronage. The Premier, unless utterly weak, gives the tone to the government, represents it abroad, is at home credited if not with its separate measures, at least with its general direction, can always moderate the initiative he may be compelled to accept. When he is really strong as Lord Palmerston was strong, as Mr. Gladstone would be strong, he does in fact do what he seems to do, and to resign the prospect of the one luxury of statesmen—visible initiative power, requires in a statesman conscious of strength no light self-control. We believe that it will be displayed by Mr. Gladstone, and that for the interest alike of the country and the Liberal party it is better it should be displayed. The want of the country is not only a strong and progressive Minister, but a strong and progressive government, and a Cabinet in which Mr. Gladstone's policy is tempered by that of men sounder on foreign politics, on clerical questions, and possibly on the franchise, will possess a strength which his own Ministry would lack. It may not be more moderate but it will seem more moderate to the country, and men are ruled by their impressions at least as much as by their experience. Even strong Liberals feel that to see every Continental paper announcing that "the policy of abstention has triumphed in England," America suspicious of the man who declared her already dismembered, the High Church exulting in its prospects of patronage, and workmen demanding household suffrage, as "promised" by the First Minister, would be drawbacks to their pleasure at their leader's accession to power. They want his ideas to rule, and not his crotchets. As it is certain that no subordinate could temper the policy of Mr. Gladstone as Premier, he must have a chief, and there are, if we set aside vague speculations, but three probable names—Earl Russell, Lord Granville, and the Duke of Somerset, and of the three Earl Russell is foremost in the race. He has been Premier, he is the natural chief of the great Whig connection still so powerful in the House, he is trusted by sections of the Liberals who distrust Mr. Gladstone—for example, the Nonconformists—and he can, if any man can, temper the exercise of his great colleague's strength. Mr. Gladstone, moreover, may serve without discredit under a statesman who held high office before he himself had a beard, whose reputation is still high throughout Europe, and with whose ends at least, if not his means, he himself cordially agrees. The Duke of Somerset, though frequently named in political circles, would be a surprise to the public, and would require, to be thoroughly efficient, a leader of the Lower House less independent than Mr. Gladstone, while to Lord Granville, so often named, there may be one fatal objection. Self-abnegation has limits, and it is by no means certain that either Mr. Gladstone or Earl Russell could consent to serve under one who, however popular, has been distinguished rather as courtier than statesman, and who is younger than himself both in years and in office. There is an etiquette in official as in private life, which it is often painful to disregard, and the heaven-born general who gives way at once to seniority often frets under a supersession of favor, however purely nominal. Earl Russell would seem to be the inevitable Premier, and a Russell-Gladstone Cabinet, supported at once by the old Whigs, the "Liberals" properly so called, and the Radicals, ought to be able, and would be able, to face the great defection certain to follow Lord Palmerston's decease. They will be all the more able if Mr. Gladstone insists upon carrying into the cabinet some strength besides his own, if the junction of Peelites and Whigs which gave us Lord Palmerston's government becomes a junction of Whigs with Mr. Gladstone's friends. The secret of power lies *there* now, as it lay in the time of Pitt, in a union between the Liberal aristocracy, or hereditary Whigs, and the representatives of the mass of the people. Their alliance, whenever it has occurred, has always proved irresistible, and the opportunity for such alliance is now at hand. It is suggested that the country will prefer a minimum of change, that in fact the Premiership alone needs to be filled, and this might be good policy, if the majority secured for Lord Palmerston could be relied on for his successor. It is, however, nearly certain that it cannot, and the new Premier will be wise to take the opportunity afforded by a great event to form a Ministry which shall be recognized by the country and by Europe as a strong one. There is a necessity for new blood, and the House of Commons, impatient of the preference shown to the Lords when the Premier sat on its benches, is not likely to endure the absence of the Ministers for War, Foreign Affairs, and the Navy, and of the Premier besides. Mr. Gladstone will require debating support in the Commons, support which in any serious emergency neither Sir George Grey nor Sir Charles Wood is competent to give. Some re-organization is inevitable, and we trust that in making it the new Premier will consider nothing except the right of the country to the ablest government obtainable, and of the party to a complete representation. Past services demand consideration whenever it is clearly proved that they do not stand in the way of that first of national interests—a government which can rely on the support of the House of Commons.

MARRIAGE IN FRANCE.

From the London Society.

In France, wherever there is a marriageable girl, there is also in the neighborhood a woman who was expressly created to come to her assistance; she is a matrimonial Sister of Charity, who, married herself, carries clan-feeling and *esprit de corps* so far as to keep a register office for the use of hymeneal candidates. She bears on her forehead the star of diplomacy; she passes her life in negotiating alliances.

This worthy dame, in her benevolence, opines that a girl endowed with a portion cannot do better than marry a man who stands in need of it. In virtue of this system of pre-established harmony, she names the portion to the man, thereby bringing the two isolated bodies within the sphere of each other's attraction. It is the first operation of match-making.

Both parties begin by exchanging their respective financial statements; so much in hand, so much in expectation; expectation signifies at the death of a parent or near relation. If, after this comparative analysis of fortunes, it is supposed possible, on one side as well as on the other, considering all points, weighing one thing against another, for a farm in Brie and a flourishing professional practice to occupy the same nuptial couch, the second ordeal is proceeded with.

The suitor presents his request and solicits an interview, for, in civilized countries, young women are no longer sold; the code allows them to give their consent to a marriage. She must therefore have an opportunity of inspecting the visage to which she has to give her consent. A day is fixed for the confrontation. A man's visit must be something very terrible, and especially a young man's; since a French mother will not allow her daughter to receive that bugbear in private until the sacramental hour of demanding her hand in marriage.

What will the girl say? What answer will she make? She has been thinking it over for half the night; and all she has thought melts from her mind like spring-tide snow. The critical day arrives. She goes down into the drawing-room in an ingenious toilette, in negligent elegance. She takes a chair beside her mother, with her embroidery, in order to have the right to hold down her head. The other arrives in suitor's costume, hatted and hair-dressed for the ceremony, cravatted with art, clad in bran-new clothes from top to toe, in short, in the complete uniform of an applicant who has obtained an audience of the Prime Minister, and who hopes to carry the place by storm. He bows; they bow to him; they exchange a few commonplace phrases to open the conversation. After which he unpacks his stock of intellectual wares; and as soon as he fancies that he has produced one more brilliant than ordinary, he concludes the interview.

Meanwhile, the damsel who is being courted either keeps silence or answers in monosyllables; between her and him the match is not fair. Accustomed from her childhood to live like a person walking in her sleep, she never beholds a man except in her dreams; and at the very outset she conceives a good opinion of any one, no matter who, who entertains thoughts of marrying her. The intention is a compliment to her person; what will it be then when the full amount of her merit is known? Really a suitor must be an utter bungler, if, at their first meeting, the young lady do not receive a favorable impression.

The man, on the other hand, worn out as to the chapter of agreeable surprises, experienced in female natural history, forms his opinion at a glance, judges his future bride at the first word she utters, coldly, methodically, taking an instant resolution to desist from or go on with the enterprise.

He goes on; they proceed to the negotiation of the contract. They discuss and bargain, hand to hand and foot to foot, the dowry and the *préciput* or jointure; they debate the question with all the bitterness of conventional politeness. Every minute they break off and renew the bargaining. When they have done with the lawyers, the marriage enters its third period. A man takes a wife, he therefore loves her, or is about to love her. Etiquette requires that love should be entertained after the signing of the contracts.

Love, between French engaged young couples, means the spending an hour or two daily with the *fiancée*, under the maternal eye, and the taking an occasional stroll in the garden, always accompanied by the mamma, or perhaps making an excursion into the country to poeticize their confidential talk. The suitor has the right, that day, to address a madrigal to his future bride. She listens, and smiles out of politeness; but, at the perfect calm she feels, she asks herself why, if *that* is love, her guardians and teachers should have taught her to be afraid of it.

Next day, on waking, she finds at her door a complete parterre of camelias and azaleas; she looks at them attentively and interrogates them in thought; but the flowers, as silent as they are devoid of perfume, vouchsafe to make her no reply. After awhile, the period of love has lasted long enough; it is understood that the contracting parties henceforward love each other, and will continue to love to all eternity. Now is the time to offer the *corbeille de noce*, the basketful of wedding presents, all the matrimonial fine linen and lace, all the glittering hardware and tinsel which is to serve as the gilding of Madam's gingerbread — still Mademoiselle at the current date.

From all points of the compass, friends and relations strive which shall soonest send a gold or silver bagatelle, to swell the contingent of her casket. Her mother displays the increasing collection, commenting on the items as if it were a museum. Thus the first lesson given to a housewife is a public course of futility.

From the *corbeille de noce* they pass on to the *denouement*. In former times, when an esquire performed his military vigil previous to his admission into the order of chivalry, he prepared his mind for that change of condition by a severe examination of his conscience. He fasted, wearing a halter round his neck; he struck his forehead against the pavement, to drive out every evil thought. The well-born young gentleman also performs a vigil when he is on the point of marrying. It is called "his adieu to his bachelor life." He invites his gay companions to a parting dinner; and where do they finish their night of orgie?

And next morning, when he has scarcely had time to wipe his lip, he returns to his affianced bride to complete the operation of marriage. The bride steps into one job state-carriage, the bridegroom mounts into another, and they both drive to the Mairie, under a double escort of seconds or witnesses and relations. They enter a large empty room cut in two by a balustrade and adorned with a plaster bust overshadowed by a flag. The plaster represents something reigning which has sprouted out of the most recent revolution.

Forthwith appears a dignitary, sometimes decorated with the Legion of Honor, in the majority of cases grisly-haired, and always girded with a tri-colored scarf. Graciously bowing to the parties present, he takes his place at a table covered with green cloth, and turns over the leaves of a book whose edges are stained, like a rainbow, with stripes of divers colors. That book can be no other than the Code Napoleon.

Standing at the bar, the couple state their sur and Christian names, and the Christian and surnames of their witnesses to a clerk, who inscribes them in a register and reads the entry to the assembly. That done, the Maire rises, opens his book and recites an article, from which it appears that the husband owes protection to his wife, and that the wife owes obedience to her husband. He then asks the bridegroom if that is what he wants; the young husband answers "Yes;" and the bride if that is what she accepts; the young wife answers "Yes." At this double avowal the municipal officer declares them married; on the faith of which everybody concerned signs the register.

Next comes the marriage at church; which is the grand marriage, *the* marriage, in the eyes of the world. A man may have laughed at religion all his life, and even made war upon his clergyman; but it is before this very clergyman that he deems it right to appear, to effect the ceremonial opening of his family existence.

Now the French clergy exact that, before marrying a man, he shall come to confession; of which they give him a certificate, exactly as they would give a certificate of his baptism or burial; and they take advantage of the opportunity to put the most extraordinary questions respecting his previous ways and doings. It is not every nominally Catholic Frenchman who likes to pass this private examination; he therefore sends some fellow to personate him, who confesses what he pleases for a small remuneration, and brings back the required certificate. As soon, therefore, as our bridegroom has acquired the right to utter fibs to himself and his Maker, he convokes on satin paper all within his knowledge to be present at an act of hypocrisy.

The party, after finishing at the Mairie, proceed in all their finery to the door of the church. The bride enters first in a cloud of white — nothing but white from head to foot—leaning on her father's arm, or, in default of father, on her paternal or maternal uncle's. The beadle comes to meet her at the door, with his baldric displayed on his manly chest, and conducts her majestically to the altar, striking the pavement with his cane. During the march the organ plays an opera tune.

The bridegroom follows the bride at the distance of a pace or two; and they bend the knee, side by side, on a *prie-dieu*, made comfortable by a velvet cushion. The priest hurries through a musical mass; a bit of red cloth is stretched over the spouses' heads; the officiating minister, makes a short mystical allocution, in which he compares the union of man and wife to the Saviour's union with the Church. The company then emigrates to the sacristy, where bride and bridegroom, relations, friends, acquaintances, kiss pell-mell, compliment, squeeze hands, and everybody retires making their remarks on the prettiness or plainness of the bride. And now you have before you a couple of human beings, still unknown the one to the other, united to all perpetuity! The maiden has changed her name; and, pale as death under her garland of orange-flowers, she tries to smile.

AN ENGLISH ESTIMATE OF LINCOLN.

From the Athenæum.

A singular, a sad, a humorous man, full of originality and character, is the subject of Mr. Raymond's pen. Tall, unwieldy, gaunt in look, wabbling in motion, pinched in lip, with huge jaws and chin, strong cheek-bones, broad lines, wan color, big ears, and shaggy brows, round all of which bristled a dark, thin stubble of hair—such was the visible Abraham Lincoln of the strangers' room. Only a pair of solemn eyes, now dropping with weight of care, now lightening with sudden laughter, told of the kindly sense, the sympathetic heart, within that outward, almost forbidding, crust. For many months after his name had become a household word with us in England, we thought of him chiefly (apart from his politics and his position) as a jester, a shrewd story-teller, a new edition of Sam Slick; we had no idea of his more serious side of character, of his abstraction, his melancholy, of what the Puritans would have called his inwardness. We thought him Yorick; we had no suspicion that he was also Jaques. Yet this quaint solemnity of aspect was the side of him which struck his countrymen most strongly; and while his enemies in London were describing him as a jovial buffoon, his enemies in Washington were representing him as a morose fanatic. But the two extremes of mirth and sadness seemed to meet by natural appointment in this singular man. A radical member of Congress called upon him in the dark days of 1862, just after a great disaster. Lincoln began to relate some amusing trifle. The radical member, big with the bad news, and anxious to know how the President bore it, rose to his feet, and said, "Mr. President, I did not come here this morning to hear stories; it is too serious a time." Instantly the smile disappeared from Mr. Lincoln's face, who exclaimed, "A——, sit down! I respect you as an earnest, sincere man. You cannot be more anxious than I am constantly, and I say to you now, that were it not for this occasional *vent*, I should die!" Mr. Carpenter, the portrait-painter, said he had the saddest face ever worn by man. "During some of the dark days of the spring and summer of 1864, I saw him at times when his careworn, troubled appearance was enough to bring tears of sympathy into the eyes of his most bitter opponents. I recall particularly one day, when, having occasion to pass through the main hall of the domestic apartments, I met him alone, pacing up and down a narrow passage, his hands behind him, his head bent forward upon his breast, heavy black rings under his eyes, showing sleepless nights—altogether such a picture of the effects of sorrow and care as I have never seen!" All evidence of eye-witnesses show the same impression of the jester; the familar story, illustrated in a thousand lives, from King Solomon down to clown Grimaldi. "No man," Mrs. Stowe says, "ever suffered more and deeper, albeit with a dry, weary, patient pain, that seemed to some like insensibility." But for the *vent*, he would have died. How oddly his vein of humour ran along the sides of this mournfulness of spirit, may be suggested by a glimpse of his quiet home. One evening, after a day of dry work, a few persons called to see him; among others, a party consisting of two senators, a representative, an ex-lieutenant-governor of a Western State, and several private citizens. They had business of importance for him, which required the President to examine a lot of formal documents. Pushing everything aside, he said to one of the party, "Have you seen the Nasby papers?"—"No, I have not," was the answer; "Who is Nasby?"—There is a chap out in Ohio," returned the President, "who has been writing a series of letters in the newspapers over the signature of Petroleum V. Nasby: Some one sent me a pamphlet collection of them the other day. I am going to write to 'Petroleum' to come down here, and I intend to tell him, if he will communicate his talent to me, I will *swap* places with him!" Lincoln took out the letters, and read one of them to the company, and after clearing the moral atmosphere with a good hearty laugh, he fell to the voluminous documents and got his business done. In many a dismal hour this nimble humor came to his aid; baffling many an importunate request, that could hardly have been denied in simple words. "Judge Baldwin, of California, being in Washington, called one day on Gen. Halleck, and, presuming upon a familiar acquaintance in California a few years since, solicited a pass outside of our lines to see a brother in Virginia, not thinking that he would meet with a refusal, as both his brother and himself were good Union men. 'We have been deceived too often,' said Gen. Halleck, and I regret I can't grant it.' Judge B. then went to Stanton, and was very briefly disposed of, with the same result. Finally, he obtained an interview with Mr. Lincoln, and stated his case. 'Have you applied to Gen. Halleck?' inquired the President. 'Yes, and met with a flat refusal,' said Judge B. 'Then you must see Stanton,' continued the President. 'I have, and with the same result,' was the reply. 'Well, then,' said Mr. Lincoln, with a smile, 'I can do nothing; for you must know *that I have very little influence with this Administration.*'" What could the Judge say further? One night the sovereign people called for their President to appear and make a speech. To appear was easy; to make a speech, without saying either too little or too much, was not easy. People wanted him to talk for the very reason which cautioned him to hold his peace. But how was he to send them home in good humor without betraying his knowledge, his opinions, his despondency? Stalking out on to the balcony, with his fat little wife under his arm, he bowed to his masters, saying, "Well, gentlemen, here we are, and that's the long and short of it." The mob broke out into laughter, and went home with a jest, instead of a political speech. One day he received a deputation at the White House, which had come to abuse his cabinet. He listened to them with the gravest heed until they had done, when he put aside all the cases with his homely and practical good sense: "Gentlemen," said he, "suppose all the property you were worth was in gold, and you put it in the hands of Blondin to carry across the Niagara River on a rope, would you shake the cable, or keep shouting out to him—'Blondin, stand up a little straighter—Blondin, stoop a little more—go a little faster—lean a little more to the north—lean a little more to the south?' No, you would hold your breath as well as your tongue, and keep your hands off until he was safe over. The Government are carrying an immense weight. Untold treasures are in their hands. They are doing the very best they can. Don't badger them. Keep silence, and we'll get you safe across."

The best story of the kind is one which we have never seen in print. A very strong deputation from the temperance bodies in the New England States waited upon him at the White House to obtain from him leave to send temperance lecturers into the camps, with the same rights and powers as the regimental chaplains. Lincoln was a teetotaller, and personally in favor of the Maine Liquor Law; friends were chiefly of that way of thinking; and the deputation supposed they would have an easy task of it, although well aware that Grant, the Commander-in-Chief, was hostile to their plans. So they set out their facts in strong colors, as the manner is with all sectarians; asserting that the armies were demoralized with drink, and that most of the officers were drunkards. Among other facts which they had learnt, to the discredit of the army, was that Gen. Grant was fond of whiskey, and that he had a regular supply of that fiery spirit furnished to head-quarters. When they had finished their tale, the President, brightening into twinkles, said, "Well, gentlemen, and did you ascertain where Gen. Grant buys his whiskey?"—"No, Sir," replied the orator, "we did not try to learn."—"Ah," said the President, "that is a pity! I should like to have sent some of the same whiskey to every general in the service." With the same quick and kindly humor he could laud the merits and chastise the faults of his commanders. About a week after the Chicago Convention a gentleman from New York called on the President, in company with the Assistant Secretary of War, Dana. In the course of conversation, the gentleman said, "What do you think, Mr. President, is the reason Gen. McClellan does not reply to the letter from the Chicago Convention?"—"Oh!" replied Mr. Lincoln, with a characteristic twinkle of the eye, "*he is intrenching!*" McClellan is here hit off in a word. And with what drollery unhappy Burnside is figured to the imagination in this little anecdote! On the occasion when the telegram from Cumberland Gap reached Mr. Lincoln that firing was heard in the direction of Knoxville, he remarked that he was glad of it. Some person present, who had the perils of Burnside's position uppermost in his mind, could not see *why* Mr. Lincoln should be *glad* of it, and so expressed himself. "Why, you see," responded the President, "it reminds me of Mistress Sallie Ward, a neighbor of mine, who had a very large family. Occasionally one of her numerous progeny would be heard crying in some out-of-the-way place, upon which Mrs. Ward would exclaim, 'There's one of my children that isn't dead yet.'"

The history of this man was not less strange than his figure and his character. He was born in a hut, and died inhabiting a palace. He could hardly spell simple words, and he governed by his wisdom nearly half the world. He was a Southern mean white, and he lived to champion the North and to abolish slavery in the South. He was a laborer, a rail-splitter, a boatman, a grocer's boy, a private soldier; he was also a lawyer, a surveyor, a captain of volunteers, a postmaster, a Member of Congress and President of the United States. His origin was so obscure that the place of his birth is not known, yet he conducted a great war as Commander-in-Chief, and signed the edict of emancipation. He is called the Moses of the negro race, and the Second Father of his country. By common consent, he is placed in the great muster-roll of fame by the side of Washington. And yet we talk of the age of romance being gone!

SOCIAL USES OF IMAGINATION.

From the Saturday Review.

There are times when we are disposed to set down all the lesser sins and mistakes of humanity to simple want of imagination. If once we get the notion into our heads, it seems to explain so much, to account for so many blunders, that we scarcely can tell where to stop till we have transferred to imagination all that has been said of charity, and proved that no errors are possible where that faculty is kept in proper working order. From the sin of keeping dinner waiting to the atrocities of a Roman emperor, we find a clue to everything in this one deficiency. Who could dawdle if he realized the pangs of hungry waiters upon his delay? and how could the biggest tyrant that ever lived have bullied and oppressed with any comfort if he had once imagined what people said of him, or pictured to himself the figure he cut in the minds of his contemporaries? However, the popular idea of imagination takes so little account of its every-day services that we do not often find persons who take this view. People are not supposed to be possessed of imagination unless they exercise it in some marked and conspicuous manner. It is not commonly perceived of what sterling service a clear imagination is in the household and the family, and how wrong things often go for want of it. In fact, people constantly talk of reason and good sense when this other faculty is the thing really meant—imagination in its ordinary unconscious working. The ingenious arrangement and clever foresight which keep things going and make schemes answer, the grasp of new combinations, realizing all that is involved in apparently immaterial change, the fresh current of small interests, the welcome of new ideas preserving the most monotonous home from stagnation—these are rarely recognized for what they are. Still less is the charm of a wide sympathy attributed to its right sources—a power of picture-drawing, and a comprehension of untried situations. Can any sympathy, indeed, go beyond the power of imagining the condition that is to be felt for or pitied? We may relieve positive distress, we may pity in mere faith; but we can scarcely feel for another, or pity intelligently, without imagination. We think of this faculty as a stimulant; we connect it with the idea of excitement; but its passive side is fully as important in social life, when it works as a preventive, a steadier, and often as the only effectual sedative against fussiness and perverted useless activity. Certain it is that no one can be entirely agreeable without some share of imagination, but it often exists where it has nothing positive to show for itself—no particular readiness, sparkle, or play of fancy. Its working may be all in the way of check, in correcting bad tricks of thought, saving its possessor alike from caring for what is not worth caring for and from caring for nothing, repressing those vices of conversation which spring from prosaic dulness—such as importunate persistence and talking of self—and keeping him in harmony with his surroundings, and bright and interesting even in silence and passivity.

Most failures in the endeavor to please are due to this one deficiency. People with the best and most amiable intentions miss being pleasant company if they cannot hit their friends' humor, or tell how their own words and manner will affect them. The most awkward kindness has its hour of appreciation; there are joys and sufferings that every good heart can sympathize with; but for the choicer moments of life, for the apprehension of the subtler emotions, imagination is indispensable. Practice, no doubt, will develop minute seeds of sympathy into life, but the incorrigibly prosaic must submit to live amid the outsides of things. It is painful sometimes to see how the best and most unselfish dispositions will fail of their full reward for want of tact, which is nothing else than imagination at close quarters, and put to social and possibly ignoble uses. That power which informs us how fictitious characters will act under every posture of affairs is readily recognized as imagination; but the man of tact possesses the same gift for practical purposes. He may not be able to set the puppets of his own fancy going, but he knows to a nicety what the people about him think and feel. He knows, though perhaps he could give no account of his knowledge; and he has thus an enormous advantage over the blind good-nature which constantly irritates and worries where it hoped to confer pleasure, misinterpreting signs which tact reads like print, and creating an atmosphere of disturbance where the other inspires security and repose. No doubt good-nature holds its own in the long run, and we can scarcely disparage its clumsiest, least-discerning exhibitions with impunity; but, in fact, defect of imagination more commonly encourages a form of selfishness even where largeness of heart is not wanting. There are many people constitutionally incapable of believing in feelings unknown to themselves. They want the capacity for doing so. They will not, and seem as if they could not, credit likings and antipathies, pains and pleasures, of which they have no experience. They either set them down as pretence and affectation, or they take no count of them, treating them as empty words devoid of all meaning for those who profess them; or perhaps they override ideas alien to their own tastes as a sort of vermin which it is a duty and a merit to crush. The strong often will not believe in weakness, nor the healthy in sickness, nor the high-spirited in nervousness or depression, nor the methodical in the necessity for variety and change. Old persons of this temper will even forget that they were ever young, and, following the system of their whole life, will regard their present estimate of pleasure and pain as not merely the only reasonable one, but the only one which can seriously be entertained—other notions being simple delusions. "But it must be charming to dive, and feel the water rushing over your head," sighs Andersen's "Ugly Duckling." "Nonsense," says the hen, "do you ever see me dive, or the tom-cat, or even our old mistress? You do not know what you are talking about." Of course selfishness adopts this strain for its own purposes; but people are not always selfish, morally, who use such arguments, and the charge is often applied unjustly. It is certain, at least, that persons thus constituted have need of a self-restraint, and a mere blind faith in what they cannot understand, for which their friends in their turn would scarcely have fancy enough to give them credit.

We see people continually failing in their ends from the same deficiency. They cannot tell how to reach others; they have no selection of arguments; they have no delicate tools, but only such as will wrench and hammer. This is called ignorance of human nature or want of penetration; but, of course, whatever is not seen by the senses must be seen, if at all, through the imagination. A very strong will disdains this faculty, or dulls it by this disdain; it prefers getting its way through mere force. A sense of power creates a desire to take the most direct way to its end. If there is power enough, it succeeds; but as often a dull or quenched imagination balks a strong will of its desire. There are a hundred things acceptable or repugnant to us according to the method in which they are first presented to our consideration. If we think of critical times in our lives, occasions when a choice or alternative was presented to us, we very likely may find that the mode in which it was brought before us determined us. If the suggestion came with due consideration for our habits of thought, it was received, and its bearings entered into; but, put arbitrarily and defiantly, the idea failed of an entrance, made no way, and was never entertained at all, probably from some kindred inability in ourselves to seize the points of a new situation. The propounder could not or would not picture the mind to which he sought access so as to secure a primary reception. Of course this sort of picture-drawing has to be cultivated like any other talent, and necessity here, as elsewhere, is the great teacher; but whenever it is not possessed, either from incapacity or indifference, there will be a growing discrepancy of tastes and interests, for people cannot live in harmony without it.

How very few persons have the least idea of what goes on behind their backs! It is as well, indeed, that it is so, for the knowledge might be too much for humanity; but the thought comes now and then across us as circumstances show some marked or grotesque example of this blindness. It seems sometimes as though men supposed that the people and things they control by their presence either stood still in their absence, or proceeded like clock-work in the same groove. The life about them is suppos